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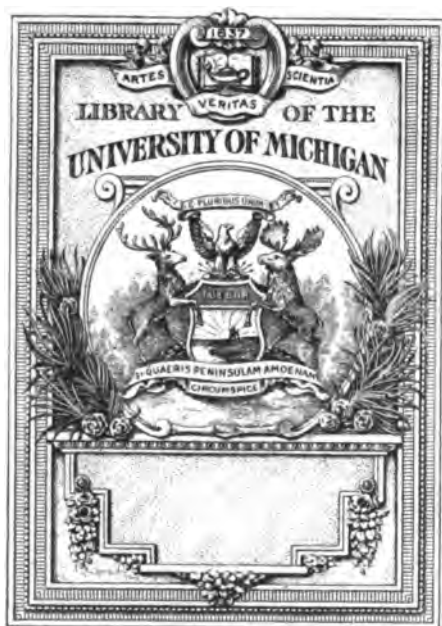
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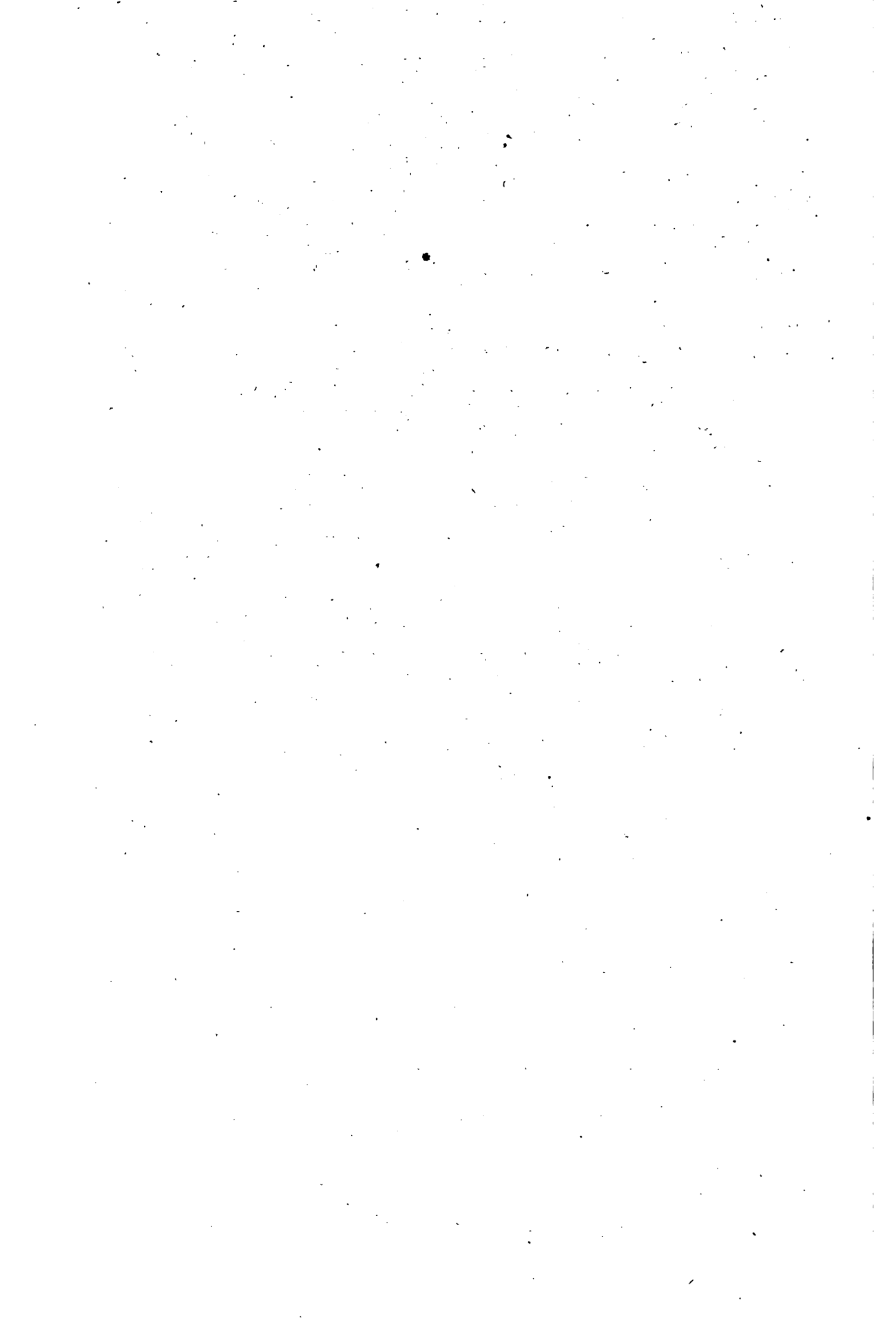




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REVIEW OF
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO CANADA 81404

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REVIEW OF
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING
TO CANADA

I. CANADA'S RELATIONS TO THE EMPIRE

Anglo-Saxon Superiority: to what it is due. (À quoi tient la Supériorité des Anglo-Saxons ?) By Edmond Demolins. Translated by L. B. Lavigne, from the tenth French edition. London: The Leadenhall Press, 1898. Pp. xl, 427.

Die Kolonialpolitik Grossbritanniens. Erster Theil: Von den Anfängen bis zum Abfall der Vereinigten Staaten. Von Dr. Alfred Zimmermann. Mit drei farbigen Karten in Steindruck. Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1898. Pp. xv, 479.

The Building of the Empire. The Story of England's Growth from Elizabeth to Victoria. With portraits of Queen Elizabeth and of Her Majesty Queen Victoria in Photogravure, and upwards of one hundred portraits and illustrations from contemporary prints. By Alfred Thomas Story. In Two Volumes. London: Chapman and Hall, 1898. Pp. xii, 299, 381.

The Growth of Greater Britain. A Sketch of the History of the British Colonies and Dependencies. By F. B. Kirkman, B.A., Lincoln College, Oxford. (The Raleigh History Readers). London: Blackie & Son, 1898. Pp. 302.

The Imperial Heritage. By Ernest Edwin Williams, Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society. Fully illustrated. London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1898. Pp. 241.

Canada and the Empire. By J. Van Sommer, Junior. Toronto: The Author, 1898. Pp. 125.

The Growth and Administration of the British Colonies, 1837-1897. By Rev. William Parr Greswell, M.A., late Scholar of Brasenose College, Oxford. Victorian Era Series. London: Blackie & Son, 1898. Pp. 253.

M. Demolins' book *À quoi tient la Supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?* which has attracted so much almost pained attention in France, has now appeared in an English translation. The book has been treated as a serious contribution to the question of the colonial expansion of the European powers. M. Demolins finds a quality in the Anglo-Saxon that no other race possesses. In England itself, the Celt and the Norman have given way before the Anglo-Saxon, and now this aggressive race dominates the world. Frenchmen, M. Demolins says sadly, pay for such great undertakings as the Suez and Panama canals, but the Anglo-Saxon, English or American, will inevitably take possession of them.

"He rules America by Canada and the United States; Africa by Egypt and the Cape; Asia by India and Burmah; Austral Asia, by Australia and New Zealand; Europe, and the whole world, by his trade, industries and by his policy."

M. Demolins points out that Anglo-Saxon progress is due to the personal independence and enterprise peculiar to members of this race. He contrasts Anglo-Saxon society with that in both France and Germany, and is not free from the mischievous tendency to ascribe Anglo-Saxon success to a certain quality of the blood. For this M. Jules Lemaître girds at him in *Le Figaro* when he says, "Can any one 'oblige' with a good way of transforming a poor devil of a Latin or a Celt into a fine Anglo-Saxon ogre?" Socialism, which is communistic in nature, has a firm hold in both Germany and France. It has made little advance in either Great Britain or the United States, because it violates the spirit of personal independence in English and American life. In comparing England with Germany, M. Demolins concludes that Anglo-Saxon domination is in no danger from the New Germany. He admits that Germany has won great temporary successes in the world of commerce, but this is due to the opening of new markets among rude peoples whose tastes are not fastidious,

and to the low standard of living in Germany which keeps the rate of wages down. Of the superiority of German education to English he will not hear, and he quotes at length a striking indictment by the present German Emperor of the educational system of his own realm. The Germans are physically inferior to the English. Seventy-four per cent. of the school children are near-sighted, and the Emperor himself stated that eighteen out of twenty-one of his own school-fellows wore spectacles. German education develops the mind but not the man, and the personality of the German trader is vastly inferior to that of the English. A paternal government makes the German rely upon state aid, upon private associations, but least of all upon himself. He has the mind of a clerk and not the initiative of a master. This is M. Demolins' argument. He has unfortunately a very slight historic sense. He does not see that, relatively to the English, the Germans are in the commercial world a new race with much to learn. Their progress is, however, too real to be lightly dismissed, and the advantages in education are not all on their side, handicapped though they are by defective physical culture. A nation whose cities are growing more rapidly even than those of America, whose population will soon be double that of France, must have something substantial underlying its expansion. Perhaps M. Demolins' nationality keeps him from cordial appreciation of German methods.

Turning to his own country, he contrasts the French and the English youth. Three-quarters of the educated young men of France aspire to hold government posts. They neglect agriculture, industry and commerce for the petty gratifications and the idleness which official life offers to their vanity and to their dislike of work. He shows that in France landlords take little interest in their estates, and are often absentees. Politics have fallen into the hands of the official and professional class, who, with little direct interest in production, have everything to gain by national extravagance. Children are not taught to be self-reliant, and the birth-rate is declining, because parents must provide an endowment for each child, and the fall in the rate of interest makes this increasingly difficult for more than

one or two children. He discusses frankly, and admits, the decadence of France, and compares with it the vigorous life of England. The English are fond of work; when they can they live in the country, and enjoy its energetic pursuits. Politics in England are in the hands of the landed classes, who have the greatest interests at stake. English school-life fosters a manly spirit of independence, while in France the school-boys take even their exercise like a military company parading the streets. The results of this difference of system are sufficiently apparent. The standard of life in England is very high. M. Demolins found comforts in a farm labourer's cottage in Scotland that amazed him. The English well-to-do farmer is in culture a gentleman, while the French farmer of the same class dresses like a peasant, keeps no domestic servant, eats at table with his labourers, and has no higher interests whatever.

M. Demolins' book is, of course, flattering to the Anglo-Saxon race, but his picture of Anglo-Saxon superiority is too glowing. He describes an English school which furnishes practical training for men intending to start for themselves in the colonies. Forestry, the care of cattle, the trades of the blacksmith, the wheelwright and the saddler, swimming, sailing, rowing, and many other things are all taught here, and no doubt all are useful; yet the English have been slow to learn that the real school of training for colonial life is in the colonies themselves. They have tried to hold the colonies too rigorously to methods suitable only to the mother country, and the result is to be seen in the slow relative progress of the British colonies compared with that of the United States. M. Demolins' book will do good. It is a rebuke to his own people spoken frankly by one of themselves. One could wish that the same self-criticism were more frequently found among the Anglo-Saxons whom he admires. One might have wished too that M. Demolins had made a closer study of his countrymen living side by side with the Anglo-Saxon in Canada. He would have found them hampered indeed by a miserable past, living under a political system involving responsibilities which they are only beginning to understand, but he would

have found them also in intelligence, in numbers, in agricultural methods making progress, which, though still behind that of the Anglo-Saxons, is relatively more rapid. M. Demolins does not indeed despair of his country. Though she has failed once as a colonizing power, renewed efforts are now being made, and France is learning from the Anglo-Saxon. She recognizes the failure of her system of education—the first step towards altering it; the youth of the country are emulating the English in their zeal for physical development; and the discredit into which politics and politicians have fallen is the beginning of a movement towards something better.

Colonization questions are in these days a deep concern for all the great states. Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, the author of *Die Kolonialpolitik Grossbritanniens*, has written much on colonial questions, and this book exhibits his usual care, accuracy, and clearness of statement. He is throughout free from any animus against Great Britain, a virtue when we remember how envious his countrymen have been of her colonial successes. Dr. Zimmermann's style, however, can hardly be called brilliant; nowhere will one find a single dramatic picture, or stirring thought. A frequent defect in histories of colonial movements is that the contemporaneous European situation is not kept clearly in mind. Down to the time of the American Revolutionary War, colonial politics were simply a footnote to those of Europe, so far as the larger world was concerned. Yet even so great a writer as Parkman half forgot this, and was content with a merely superficial knowledge of European issues. Dr. Zimmermann is well versed in European political history and sees clearly the wider range of the problems involved.

At the end of the seventeenth century the situation in America, as between England and France, was curiously like that in Africa at the present time. The French were then active in efforts to secure the Hinterland in America. They saw as they see now in Africa, that the possession of the great rivers involved also the possession of the regions to which they led. The valleys of the Mississippi and of the St. Lawrence were claimed and occupied by France; she had posts on the

Ohio. The Virginia planter, George Washington, who attempted to anticipate the French occupation of the Ohio valley, played a part in some respects curiously like that of Major Marchand. The rôles of the two countries were, however, reversed; it was the French who were in military possession; it was the English who disputed their sovereignty.

The French, indeed, showed more prescience in regard to colonial empire than did the English. A well informed French writer, M. Seignobos, has recently said in the *Revue Historique*, that English colonial policy was "disconnected, without plan or forethought, and full of aristocratic and bureaucratic bias," and the charge is true. The English in America were from the first an agricultural and commercial people. The French in America throughout the whole period of French domination were little more than fur-traders. As such they explored the interior of the continent and concerned themselves with geographical and territorial plans more far-reaching than any of which the unimaginative English were conscious. In the end the conflict was between English bull-dog perseverance and the more brilliant but ill-supported French schemes of empire. What happened then will inevitably happen again in Africa, but the situation of to-day compared with that of the past has this difference, that the imagination of the British in regard to empire has, at length, been thoroughly aroused.

Dr. Zimmermann discusses the rise of the colonial spirit, and gives the credit of pioneer work not to merchants or to explorers, but to English fishermen, who even in the fourteenth century had reached Iceland. In orderly succession, with uniform and plodding industry, he describes the colonial policy of the Stuarts, England's struggle with Holland for supremacy upon the seas, her struggle with France and Spain for world supremacy, and his book ends with a description of what he calls the close of the earlier English policy, the history of the revolt of the American colonies.

His use of original material has been slight. Occasionally he has consulted collections of state papers and other documents, but for the most part he has confined himself to well

known secondary authorities. Of these his selection has been excellent, though for early French effort he should have consulted more of Parkman's works than "Count Frontenac and New France." He pays special attention to English effort in the Hudson Bay region. It is too often forgotten that prior to the conquest, Great Britain held the territory both to the north and to the south of Canada. The Hudson's Bay Company was already, in the reign of Charles II, a powerful corporation doing a profitable business. Dr. Zimmermann tells us that almost from the first its operations had been successful. From 1670 to 1690, notwithstanding a constant struggle with the French in the same regions, its profits were £118,000 sterling. From 1690 to 1800 its yearly dividends were from sixty to seventy per cent. At one time the face value of the hundred pound share was increased to three hundred pounds, without any payment on the part of the shareholders. This is certainly a magnificent commercial record. Nor did the company confine itself to merely commercial effort. Its explorer, Samuel Hearne, who reached the Polar sea in 1769, was one of the pioneers of discovery in that fascinating and still half unknown northern region.

Dr. Zimmermann is accurate, but he sometimes makes small slips. Acadia was not christened Nova Scotia in 1710 (p. 167). It was in the days of James I that this name was given to the country, and that the order of Baronets of Nova Scotia was established. General Braddock certainly did not go to Nova Scotia in March, 1755, after arriving in Virginia in February (p. 214). On page 209 the date 1760 should be 1710. Dr. Zimmermann spells Hakluyt wrong, and it is curious to read of transactions of the "royal society of Canada." The Germans would think us very ignorant if we wrote German nouns without a capital; yet they violate our usage as much when they spell American, British, European, etc., without capitals, in English quotations, as Dr. Zimmermann frequently does.

Mr. Story's two volumes on *The Building of the Empire* recall the leading features of the expansion of England. Considerable space is given to the work of the Elizabethan seamen who

Ohio. The Virginia planter, George Washington, who attempted to anticipate the French occupation of the Ohio valley, played a part in some respects curiously like that of Major Marchand. The rôles of the two countries were, however, reversed; it was the French who were in military possession; it was the English who disputed their sovereignty.

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have found them also in intelligence, in numbers, in agricultural methods making progress, which, though still behind that of the Anglo-Saxons, is relatively more rapid. M. Demolins does not indeed despair of his country. Though she has failed once as a colonizing power, renewed efforts are now being made, and France is learning from the Anglo-Saxon. She recognizes the failure of her system of education—the first step towards altering it; the youth of the country are emulating the English in their zeal for physical development; and the discredit into which politics and politicians have fallen is the beginning of a movement towards something better.

Colonization questions are in these days a deep concern for all the great states. Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, the author of *Die Kolonialpolitik Grossbritanniens*, has written much on colonial questions, and this book exhibits his usual care, accuracy, and clearness of statement. He is throughout free from any animus against Great Britain, a virtue when we remember how envious his countrymen have been of her colonial successes. Dr. Zimmermann's style, however, can hardly be called brilliant; nowhere will one find a single dramatic picture, or stirring thought. A frequent defect in histories of colonial movements is that the contemporaneous European situation is not kept clearly in mind. Down to the time of the American Revolutionary War, colonial politics were simply a footnote to those of Europe, so far as the larger world was concerned. Yet even so great a writer as Parkman half forgot this, and was content with a merely superficial knowledge of European issues. Dr. Zimmermann is well versed in European political history and sees clearly the wider range of the problems involved.

At the end of the seventeenth century the situation in America, as between England and France, was curiously like that in Africa at the present time. The French were then active in efforts to secure the Hinterland in America. They saw as they see now in Africa, that the possession of the great rivers involved also the possession of the regions to which they led. The valleys of the Mississippi and of the St. Lawrence were claimed and occupied by France; she had posts on the

Ohio. The Virginia planter, George Washington, who attempted to anticipate the French occupation of the Ohio valley, played a part in some respects curiously like that of Major Marchand. The rôles of the two countries were, however, reversed; it was the French who were in military possession; it was the English who disputed their sovereignty.

The French, indeed, showed more prescience in regard to colonial empire than did the English. A well informed French writer, M. Seignobos, has recently said in the *Revue Historique*, that English colonial policy was "disconnected, without plan or forethought, and full of aristocratic and bureaucratic bias," and the charge is true. The English in America were from the first an agricultural and commercial people. The French in America throughout the whole period of French domination were little more than fur-traders. As such they explored the interior of the continent and concerned themselves with geographical and territorial plans more far-reaching than any of which the unimaginative English were conscious. In the end the conflict was between English bull-dog perseverance and the more brilliant but ill-supported French schemes of empire. What happened then will inevitably happen again in in Africa, but the situation of to-day compared with that of the past has this difference, that the imagination of the British in regard to empire has, at length, been thoroughly aroused.

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known secondary authorities. Of these his selection has been excellent, though for early French effort he should have consulted more of Parkman's works than "Count Frontenac and New France." He pays special attention to English effort in the Hudson Bay region. It is too often forgotten that prior to the conquest, Great Britain held the territory both to the north and to the south of Canada. The Hudson's Bay Company was already, in the reign of Charles II, a powerful corporation doing a profitable business. Dr. Zimmermann tells us that almost from the first its operations had been successful. From 1670 to 1690, notwithstanding a constant struggle with the French in the same regions, its profits were £118,000 sterling. From 1690 to 1800 its yearly dividends were from sixty to seventy per cent. At one time the face value of the hundred pound share was increased to three hundred pounds, without any payment on the part of the shareholders. This is certainly a magnificent commercial record. Nor did the company confine itself to merely commercial effort. Its explorer, Samuel Hearne, who reached the Polar sea in 1769, was one of the pioneers of discovery in that fascinating and still half unknown northern region.

Dr. Zimmermann is accurate, but he sometimes makes small slips. Acadia was not christened Nova Scotia in 1710 (p. 167). It was in the days of James I that this name was given to the country, and that the order of Baronets of Nova Scotia was established. General Braddock certainly did not go to Nova Scotia in March, 1755, after arriving in Virginia in February (p. 214). On page 209 the date 1760 should be 1710. Dr. Zimmermann spells Hakluyt wrong, and it is curious to read of transactions of the "royal society of Canada." The Germans would think us very ignorant if we wrote German nouns without a capital; yet they violate our usage as much when they spell American, British, European, etc., without capitals, in English quotations, as Dr. Zimmermann frequently does.

Mr. Story's two volumes on *The Building of the Empire* recall the leading features of the expansion of England. Considerable space is given to the work of the Elizabethan seamen who

have lately been attracting so much attention. Frobisher, towards the end of the sixteenth century, carried to England from lands lying within the Arctic Circle whole cargoes of worthless ore, thinking it contained gold. It is not uninteresting to notice that in the same latitude in Canada gold has at length been found in hitherto unequalled abundance, and Klondyke bids fair to realize Frobisher's anticipations from Arctic regions. Mr. Story recounts Drake's experiences on the Pacific coast, his planting of a new Albion there and claiming those shores for England; he describes, too, the long struggle of the Seven Years' War, which finally established Britain's colonial supremacy. Apparently with some surprise he realizes that England's supremacy on the seas was not fully assured at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Louis XIV indeed maintained French prestige upon the sea better than upon land, but Louis XV, as French writers lament, allowed the navy to decline. By the middle of the eighteenth century England was actually able to prevent, in time of war, almost all communication between France and Canada, and her supremacy on the sea had an appreciable effect in causing the fall of Canada. Mr. Story's narrative of recent events, Britain's expansion in Australia, the chartered companies in Africa, etc., does not call for special attention here.

It must be admitted that the book is very lamely written. An author covering so wide a range could not be expected to consult any but secondary authorities. It is surprising, however, to see that Mr. Story does not even know the best and most recent of these. He describes with some fulness the struggle between France and England in North America, apparently without knowing the works of Francis Parkman. A Mr. Martin, who wrote some fifty years ago, is Mr. Story's chief authority for the history of Canada. There are many gross blunders in the book. It is certainly a euphemism to say that La Salle "was put to death by his mutinous followers," when he was treacherously murdered by some of them. One would like to know what authority Mr. Story has to spell the great Canadian governor's name "Frontignac," which he does

repeatedly. The design of the French against the English is often said to have been "to enclose them between the Alleghany mountains and the sea." Mr. Story amends this to "between the Highlands of Nova Scotia and the Alleghany mountains," an absurd combination. He speaks of the "Canadas" in the days of French dominion, oblivious of the fact that there were not two Canadas until 1791. There are other and similar blunders, but the climax is reached when he tells us that the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company was taken away in 1868, "and thus the oldest trading corporation at that time in existence came to an end." The shareholders of what is still one of the greatest commercial societies in the world will be surprised at this piece of information. Mr. Story should have said that the political sovereignty of the Company ceased shortly after the formation of the Canadian Dominion, which soon annexed the North-west. The illustrations in the volumes from contemporary prints are good.

Mr. Kirkman's *Growth of Greater Britain* is number seven of Messrs. Blackie's series of Raleigh History Readers. The readers are intended to be placed in the hands of school-children in Great Britain, and will be a valuable aid in dispelling the crass ignorance of the history of British expansion shown by the average Englishman. Mr. Kirkman has drawn mainly upon Parkman for his early Canadian history, and within a small space manages to tell the story with sufficient detail to arouse interest. Of course he makes mistakes; all Englishmen in writing about Canada do. He misapprehends the nature of the ground near Quebec, upon which was fought Wolfe's famous battle. The earlier name of Wolfe's Cove, the "Anse du Foulon" becomes here the "Anse du Toulon." He describes the French-Canadians as having old-fashioned dances on the village green, while, unhappily, there is rarely a village green to dance upon. Sir John Bourinot does not spell his name with two r's, and he is not a French-Canadian; although of French ancestry on his father's side, English is his native tongue, and he is a member of the Anglican Church. These are, however, minor matters. The book is admirable for its

purpose, and this narrative of English expansion in Asia, Africa, Australia, the West Indies, and even Europe (Gibraltar and Malta) could be used with profit in the Canadian schools.

Mr. Ernest E. Williams' *The Imperial Heritage* is a discussion of the resources of the British Empire, by a statistician and protectionist, whose book "Made in Germany" has attracted attention. Its imperialism is of a rather florid type, but it presents a good survey of the resources of the Empire, and of the prospects of successful development. Opportunities have not been seized within the British Empire as they have been in the United States. The Americans, for nearly three centuries now, have been engaged in exploiting newly-discovered resources, and understand it much better than do their British cousins, who have entered this field more recently. When the new territory of Oklahoma, in the United States, was opened to settlers, thirty thousand men stood waiting to rush in as soon as the signal gun was fired. Within the British Empire are vast regions with a good climate and containing land more fertile than Oklahoma, with no one to occupy it. Newfoundland, with extensive grazing lands, imports its meat; West Australia, with great capacities for fruit-growing, imports fruit; South Australia, where the vine flourishes as in few other regions, produces very little wine; Queensland, which has been found suitable for coffee plantations, has as yet scarcely any; the whole western territory of Australia, which is said to be "admirably adapted for sugar, coffee, tobacco and rice plantations, for the cultivation of indigo and maize," has only five thousand inhabitants, of whom the greater part are Chinese. One reason for this slow development, no doubt, has been the prosperity of the mother country since the era of free trade was inaugurated. An expanding commerce at home has checked emigration abroad, and the pressure of population is not yet felt in the outlying portions of the British Empire as it is in those of the United States. Now that the commerce in the mother isles is no longer expanding, we may expect, as Mr. Williams anticipates, new attention to the vast undeveloped resources in all parts of the Empire.

For Canada Mr. Williams has nothing but praise, and he is prepared to demonstrate that in the near future Canada, instead of Great Britain, will lead the world in wealth production. His grounds for this belief are that the nineteenth century has been the age of steam, and the nation that has most prospered has been the one with the readiest supply of coal for steam production. England owes her commercial expansion not to free trade, which he regards as a fetish, but to her supplies of coal. The twentieth century will be the age of electricity, and the nation which has the readiest supply of electric power will lead. Rushing water is the cheapest generator of electric power. Canada with her many rivers has more water power than any other country in the world, and this, combined with her great material resources, will give her the leading commercial place among the nations. Mr. Williams is nothing if not enthusiastic. He thinks that a system of preferential trade within the Empire would, by furnishing a market, develop the resources of Canada and fulfil his prophecy. Sometimes his enthusiasm is misleading.

"You could enclose Australasia within Canada's boundaries, and you would have about 400,000 square miles left over—space almost for France and Germany. You could put nearly the whole of Europe into the Canadian borders. If the British Indies were three times as large as they are, they could be fitted into Canada, and there would still be room for Queensland and Victoria. The Dominion is more than forty times the size of Great Britain, her mother, and accounts for nearly a third of the whole Empire. From north to south she measures 1,400 miles; from east to west, 3,500. The distance between her extreme northern and her extreme southern points is the distance between Constantinople's latitude and that of the North Pole."

Mere acreage, however, counts for little in considering the relative value of territories, and vast portions of Canada within the Arctic circle have no promise of anything but possible mineral wealth.

A more valuable basis of comparison between Canada and other countries is that of relative productivity. The yield of wheat to the acre in Canada is nearly five per cent. greater than it is in the United States. Manitoba wheat has in quality no equal. British Columbian hops are worth three or four cents more per pound than Californian. Canadian bacon commands

a higher price than American. The Canadian fisheries are the largest and most productive in the world, even those of the fresh-water of the great lakes being of immense value. Mr. Williams tells of sturgeon weighing one thousand pounds, and of caviare of highest quality, thought by the European consumer to be of Russian, but really of Canadian origin. He calls the attention of sportsmen, who pay great sums for fishing privileges in Scotch rivers, to the fact that salmon is used as manure in British Columbia. He defends the Canadian climate. It was Voltaire, and not, as he says, "a French king," who described Canada as "a few acres of snow." The description has remained in men's minds, though the rich meadows, gardens, orchards and vineyards of Canada show that it has more heat and sunlight than has the mother country. As yet Canada has avoided an evil which has appeared in New South Wales and New Zealand. In each of these countries, half a hundred persons own half the land. In Canada practically no private persons possess great holdings of land. The other aspect of the question is that far too much land is still held by railway corporations.

Mr. J. Van Sommer's *Canada and the Empire* is a compilation from the reports of recent intercolonial and commercial congresses dealing with the relations of the various states composing the British Empire. The publication is useful, as bringing together in convenient form the salient features of the discussion. It is clear that so far as any plan for administrative federation is concerned statesmen are still in the clouds. The historical student will be struck with the change in the colonial situation revealed in this volume. Formerly the colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country. Now we have the view frankly stated that the mother country should confer peculiar benefits upon the colonies. Mr. Foster, a former Canadian Minister of Finance, frankly complained that the English markets are as free to all other countries as they are to Canada, and the Canadian millers demand a five per cent. preferential tariff for colonial produce. The chief anxiety of the British Government in regard to colonial matters is to

have an effective organization for military defence, the colonies to bear their fair share of the financial burden. The colonial Governments, on the whole, refuse to consider this plan until some central body is formed in which the colonies are represented. The proposals of Sir J. G. Colmer may be taken to represent the most moderate and practicable federation scheme. These are, first, that a three per cent. *ad valorem* import duty should be levied in Great Britain on the imports from foreign countries of certain specified articles produced in the colonies; secondly, that all colonies should devote two per cent. of their revenues to an Imperial Defence fund; thirdly, that a central council representing all the colonies of the Empire should administer this fund. This is a very mild form of federation, but without doubt Great Britain, with colonial trade standing as one to five of foreign trade, is not yet ready to place a charge of even three per cent. on any considerable range of foreign imports. Mr. Van Sommer falls into error sometimes. The Hon. R. R. Dobell is a citizen, not of London, Ontario, but of Quebec. He gives the probable population of Canada in one place as six million, in another as five million five hundred thousand.

Anyone undertaking at the present time to write an elementary book upon the British Colonies, as Mr. Greswell has done, certainly works under favourable circumstances, in view of the large number of books bearing upon the subject which have been published during the last few years. Besides earlier works like Seeley's "Expansion of England" and Dilke's "Problems of Greater Britain," we have now Egerton's "Short History of British Colonial Policy," Lucas's admirable little books upon the "Historical Geography of the Colonies," Ransome's "Our Colonies and India," Froude's "Oceana" and "West Indies," and many other productions. With these, together with the numerous published lives and letters of the great English proconsuls such as Lord Elgin, Lord Metcalfe, Sir George Grey, Sir George Bowen and others, Mr. Greswell had every facility for producing a very perfect little book upon his chosen topic. Without going so far as to say that he has reached perfection, he has certainly achieved

considerable success. It is mainly with the great self-governing colonies that he has concerned himself. He refers constantly to the principal sources of information on his subject, and his little book will put students well on all the best roads of inquiry. He has indeed endeavoured to include so much, and to introduce so many references to state papers, memoirs and other original authorities that he has jumbled his facts in some places. One can sometimes scarcely see the wood for the trees. Lord Durham and Edward Gibbon Wakefield, John Stuart Mill and Herman Merivale, Lord John Russell and Lord Grey, the philosophical radicals and the Manchester school, W. E. Forster and Lord Rosebery, are all paraded before the reader—a little too much at the “double quick,” but with the result that the inquirer into things colonial will find very valuable indications of the places where further investigation is likely to be most beneficial.

Mr. Greswell reproduces a prescient passage from a not very well known book published by Mr. Roebuck in 1849 on “A Plan for the Government of Some Portion of our Colonial Possessions :”

“By care and fairness the affections of these people [the French-Canadians] may, I hope, be regained ; they would form a great item in the federal union I have prepared, and that federal union would effectually check the tendency of Upper English Canada to Americanize,—would knit Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland into one powerful confederation which would be for centuries a bulwark for England and at all times a check and counterpoise to the advancing power of the United States. I contemplate an extension of our dominion across the continent, and the formation of new states north of Lake Superior.” (p. 40).

Mr. Greswell (p. 237) contributes food for thought by remarking that the West Indies are “the insular supplement of Canada.” Will the time ever come when the “insular supplement” shall become more closely connected with Canada politically, and her national development assume the further stage of what one may perhaps call a sub-oceanic power ?

Mr. Greswell may perhaps be commended for not taking up space by indulging in speculations as to whether the dream of of Imperial Federation is one of those that are destined to come true or not. But it is somewhat strange that he has nothing to say about the very advanced stage of the federation movement in Australia, seeing that a majority of the voters in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, West Australia and Tasmania

all declared in its favour in the beginning of last year, and the majority in New South Wales alone failed to reach the figure requisite to signify final adoption of the scheme. Since then, however, a new election in New South Wales has returned a Legislature, all the members of which are pledged to federation, and, according to the latest advices, a new Federal Convention is about to be held in which there can be little doubt that a scheme of union will be definitely adopted. Mr. Greswell might have found much that was interesting to say regarding the fact that the Australians show a tendency to adopt American forms and institutions for their federal scheme rather than British, which are preferred in Canada.

He sometimes omits to give references. Thus he says (page 188), that Professor Freeman has pointed out that Canada, although very far from being purely English in blood or speech, "is pre-eminently English in the development of its political institutions," and more English than the United States. This is an undoubted fact, and a very important and far-reaching one, and it would have been useful to have had the reference. Referring to the Queen's Privy Council for Canada provided for in the British North America Act, Mr. Greswell observes that "its creation is a proof of fidelity to the British model," which, no doubt, is very true; but he goes on to say that "consisting of well-tried and able men of every department in the State, they constitute in themselves an element of stability, and are moreover a link with the Crown." As a matter of fact, however, the dignity of Privy Counsellor in Canada, as in England, is in itself only an honorary distinction, as those members who are not in the Cabinet are never called together for consultation. It is therefore a little difficult to understand how it can be said to constitute an element of stability.

In the September number of the Canadian Magazine Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, under the heading *Canada's International Status*, argues from illustrative examples that the Dominion cannot yet claim to possess international status, though her weight is felt at times in foreign negotiations.

Even in respect of the independence of her internal administration, the writer considers that there is room for development in the direction of assuring complete co-operation between the Governor-General and his Canadian ministry. He enunciates no definite plan for correcting the disadvantages under which Canada labours in her international relations; but perhaps his ideas may be inferred from the remark that "a different treatment would be meted out were we able to 'beard' the Imperial Government on the floor of the House."

British and American Diplomacy Affecting Canada is the title of a paper in the March number of the Canadian Magazine, by Mr. Thomas Hodgins, Q.C. It is a dark page in diplomatic history at which he opens, that, namely, of the negotiations at Paris for a definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, after the close of the War of Independence. Oswald, England's representative, is found arrayed with her enemies in urging on her the "voluntary" cession of that great territory which, twenty years before, she had conquered at such cost of blood and treasure. The "Canada paper," containing the proposal for the handing over of Canada and Nova Scotia to the United States, is withheld by Lord Shelbourne, to whom Oswald had forwarded it, from the knowledge of his ministerial colleagues. The writer arrays a gloomy mass of evidence to show how the aims of the American negotiators were abetted by the ignorance, weakness and lack of candour of those to whose care the interests of Great Britain were entrusted; and goes on to recite the territorial losses sustained by Canada through the terms of the Treaty of Ghent and the Ashburton Treaty, the failure of the mother country to secure from the United States for the people of the Dominion any adjustment of claims arising out of the Fenian raids, and a long list of unfriendly acts of the Republic towards Canada. It is one of the drawbacks of such a paper that its recital of events is inseparable from a bitterness and one sidedness of view, at variance with the dispassionate spirit of history. The paper proposes to show how Canada has been

ground between the upper and nether millstones of English indifference and American greed. But when England's free gifts of Canadian territory are complained of, justice requires that mention should not be omitted of the presumptuous claims which she has resisted. American writers lament as bitterly Canada's possession of Hunter's Island, as do Canadians the American ownership of islands in Lake Superior. Canadians may resent the intrusion of Maine between New Brunswick and Quebec; but American historians grieve over the fact that five-twelfths of the territory claimed by that State was secured to the Dominion by the Ashburton Treaty.

Sir John G. Bourinot writes in *The Forum* for May on *Canada's Relations with the United States and Her Influence in Imperial Councils*. He reminds his American readers that the policy of their country towards Canada has not been too friendly. A tribute is paid to Lord Salisbury for the respect he has always shown for the opinions and suggestions of the Canadian Cabinet in regard to matters affecting Canada. This was especially true in connection with the Behring Sea difficulty.

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

The History of Canada. By William Kingsford, LL.D., F.R.S. [Canada]. Vol. x (1836-1841). Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchinson; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1898. Pp. xxiv; 676.

Dr. Kingsford barely lived to see the publication of this, the final volume of his comprehensive work. A little more than twelve years before, at the mature age of sixty-seven, he formed the project of writing the history of Canada under French and English rule down to the union of the provinces in 1841, from the original authorities, in much greater detail than had yet been attempted. The facilities for accomplishing this had of late been greatly increased, and he expected to cover the field in eight volumes of five hundred or six hundred pages each. As he advanced he felt constrained to exceed these limits considerably. We know not whether most to admire the dauntless ambition which impelled him at that time of life to mark out for himself so great a task, or the amazing industry and physical and mental vigour which enabled him to bring it to completion. Such an achievement, we venture to say, can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of historical work. To many professed students, the mere toil involved in reading, comparing and arranging the enormous mass of first-hand material, which must necessarily be consulted in manuscript, would of itself seem ample employment for the period occupied by Dr. Kingsford in the production of these volumes, to say nothing of the composition and revision of above six thousand pages of print.

About one-third of the volume before us is given to the history of Lower Canada during the five years preceding the Union. The events of the successive insurrections which stain those years of discontent are narrated very fully. In the rising of 1837, the defence of the hamlet of St. Eustache has hitherto been described by most writers as having been distinguished by at least a touch of heroism. Dr. Kingsford, however, lays rude

hands on a fondly cherished legend. Dr. Chenier he frankly regards as a "reckless fool," instead of a patriot and a martyr. The close of the squalid tragedy is described in these words :

"In an hour the insurgents were driven from their position. Many took to flight. The village, however, was surrounded and escape was possible only across the ice. In the haste of abandoning the priest's house, a lighted stove was upset. Several mattresses had been placed before the doors and windows for protection. The lighted wood, brought into contact with them, led to the building bursting forth in flame. It was rapidly consumed. It was the fire from the presbytery that was communicated to the church. The troops were now in possession of the other buildings, and shortly afterwards they were in flames. As the church door was forced and the troops entered, Chenier saw that all was lost. He was greatly agitated. 'We are done,' he said ; 'we are lost. Let us jump from the lady chapel and we will hide ourselves beneath the bridge in the cemetery.' They went towards the chapel on the east side, and passed out of the windows to gain the ground beneath. As he was leaving the church he was struck by a ball, and fell dead" (p. 94).

This, truly, was no very heroic ending for the leader of a forlorn hope.

For Sir John Colborne, the strong man of the hour, Dr. Kingsford entertains unbounded admiration, as "the possessor of the qualities especially called for in a crisis, an unswerving sense of duty, firmness of purpose, willingness to assume responsibility, and a sense of the necessity of acting with vigour, determination and moderation" (p. 204). While Lord Durham's striking defects of character and errors of judgment are by no means concealed, entire justice is done to his great services :

"He found the province in a state of confusion. His effort was to redeem this legacy of the past and re-establish the future. It was, moreover, a provisional and not a final act of legislation in which he was engaged ; and his whole policy would have been modified so soon as quiet times returned. Even if he strained his power, he had for his act the plea of necessity. His ordinance banishing the eight leaders of the rebellion was dictated by humanity alone, in order that he might vindicate the law and inflict punishment in a milder form than that of the more painful sentence which would have been pronounced by a sterner tribunal. Lord Durham received no support from the Ministry who had enforced on him the difficult duty he had to perform. It remains to Canada to do justice to the sagacity, wisdom and courage with which he acted in the crisis ; a position not sought by him, but undertaken from a sense of patriotism" (pp. 144-5).

The dates which appear on the title-page are misleading as to Upper Canada, for the history of that province is continued in this volume from 1820 to 1841. The progress of William Lyon Mackenzie's agitation is traced at length, and singularly

enough Dr. Kingsford discovers many points of likeness between Mackenzie and the flighty Lieutenant-Governor who succeeded in suppressing his rebellion by extreme good luck, rather than wise management.

"It is not an exaggeration to point out the resemblance of character in many respects between Sir Francis Bond Head and Mr. Mackenzie. They had many characteristics in common, with the same faults. Both were honest and disinterested in their private affairs. Of Mackenzie, it may be said that at the commencement of the rebellion he was in good circumstances, and that the active part he took caused his ruin. However different their antecedents and education, both were equally deficient in political training. Neither ever learnt to be reticent, and to engage in public business with the moderation which often disarms an opponent by forbearance and courtesy. Each had strong faith in his own views and opinions, and never faltered in the belief that he could overwhelm all opposition by his energy, and that perseverance must gain its end. There was no difference in the impatience of contradiction, the fault of both, and as they were ready to strike down all opposition by any means that suggested itself to them, they were prepared to force themselves into prominence by any means on every occasion that offered" (pp. 381-2).

Dr. Kingsford writes throughout as becomes a patriotic subject of the Queen with unalterable faith in a prosperous future for Canada as an integral part of the Empire. These are his concluding words and may be taken as his last utterance of a sentiment which had inspired his whole life.

"There is one point on which I may hopefully dwell, and that is the fact that we remain a part of the great British Empire. Throughout the Dominion it is a source of pride that such is the case. British statesmen have not always acted wisely towards us, but there can be no doubt of the great truth that the mother country has unceasingly desired our prosperity and happiness, and has made many sacrifices to sustain them. I believe that pride in this relationship is a dominant feeling in British North America, and for my part I will add in the words of Byron :

' And should I lay
My ashes in a soil that is not mine,
My spirit shall resume it—if we may
Unbodied choose a sanctuary.' "

In former volumes of this Review the shortcomings of Dr. Kingsford's work have been frankly pointed out. This alone is sufficient to render further comment on them unnecessary. The extracts we have made are examples of his style at his best. It too often lacks both distinction and directness, and references to authorities are distressingly infrequent. An index to the last six volumes is appended, but it is quite inadequate and contains some serious errors.

Francis Parkman's Works. New Library edition. Twelve volumes. Toronto: George N. Morang, 1898.

Parkman's volumes have so long been everybody's delight that a commendation of their merits is needless. We are glad to welcome their appearance in Canada in a very elegant edition with interesting plates. Their subjects are so entirely Canadian that we may almost claim the writer as ours. The Americans, however, would not like to part with him, for in their literature there is hardly a higher name. His style is excellent. It is free from the grandiloquence which used to be the bane of American historians, though to do them justice they have now generally discarded it. If there are "purple patches," they come in the right place and are kept within the limits of good taste. Parkman is also very skilful in the conduct of his narrative. It is the fashion in certain quarters at the present day to decry literary art in the historian and to pronounce nothing valuable, or, as the phrase is, scientific, except the severest records of erudite research. This may be a wholesome reaction from the rhetorical school. Yet in its turn it may be carried to excess; and after all, history, to be read by the mass of mankind, must be readable. Parkman was a paragon of research. At the same time he has few superiors in literary art.

The most striking volume of the series, perhaps, is that which contains the accounts of the Jesuit missions. There are few more curious studies of human nature. It is not merely the contrast between the heroic fortitude of these men and the character of the objects for which they endured the horrors of sojourn among savages, and faced the torture-fires of the Iroquois; it is the contrast between the strong mental qualities which they show and the strange irrationality of their beliefs. How was it possible that not only common sense but practical ability of a high order, and remarkable tact should reside in the same brain with some of their teaching? What a conception of the Deity does this involve! "You do good to your friends," said the Jesuit Le Jeune to an Algonquin chief, "and you burn your enemies; God does the same." So that God was a

counterpart of the Iroquois. Paintings of Hell, highly realistic, formed a very essential part of the preaching.

These missions and those of Xavier are the redeeming page in the sinister history of the Society of Jesus. The Society, no doubt, sometimes drew into itself characters ill-adapted to the service of casuistry and intrigue. For these the missions would form the natural field. Even in Quebec, however, Jesuitism failed not to show some of its darker features. Its tyranny over conscience and life was evidently found insufferable, and provoked revolt. Parkman thus puts the general case :

"Meanwhile, from Old France to New came succours and reinforcements to the missions of the forest. More Jesuits crossed the sea, to urge on the work of conversion. These were no stern exiles, seeking on barbarous shores an asylum for a persecuted faith. Rank, wealth, power, and royalty itself smiled on their enterprise, and bade them God-speed. Yet, withal, a fervour more intense, a self-abnegation more complete, a self-devotion more constant and enduring will scarcely find its record on the page of human history.

"Holy Mother Church, linked in sordid wedlock to governments and thrones, numbered among her servants a host of the worldly and proud, whose service of God was but the service of themselves—and many, too, who, in the sophistry of the human heart, thought themselves true soldiers of Heaven, while earthly pride, interest, and passion were the life-springs of their zeal. This mighty Church of Rome, in her imposing march along the high road of history heralded as infallible and divine, astounds the gazing world with prodigies of contradiction—now the protector of the oppressed; now the right arm of tyrants; now breathing charity and love; now dark with the passions of Hell; now beaming with celestial truth; now masked in hypocrisy and lies; now a virgin, now a harlot; an imperial queen, and a tinselled actress. Clearly, she is of the earth, not of Heaven; and her transcendently dramatic life is a type of the good and ill, the baseness and nobleness, the foulness and purity, the love and hate, the pride, passion, truth, falsehood, fierceness, tenderness, that battle in the restless heart of man.

"It was her nobler and purer part that gave life to the early missions of New France. That gloomy wilderness, those hordes of savages, had nothing to tempt the ambitious, the proud, the grasping, or the indolent. Obscure toil, solitude, privation, hardship and death, were to be the missionary's portion. He who set sail for the country of the Hurons left behind him the world and all its prizes. True, he acted under orders—obedient like a soldier to the word of command; but the astute Society of Jesus knew its members, weighed each in the balance, gave each his fitting task; and when word was passed to embark for New France, it was but the response to a secret longing of the fervent heart. The letters of these priests, departing for the scene of their labours, breathe a spirit of enthusiastic exaltation, which to a colder nature and a colder faith may sometimes seem overstrained, but which is in no way disproportionate to the vastness of the effort and the sacrifice demanded of them."

Are the Jesuit narratives entirely true? They were written for the exaltation of the Order, and to gain it proselytes and

benefactors at home. They are mixed with miracle, which in most cases would repel our belief. In the present case, however, this does not create serious mistrust. When a Jesuit, in peril of the wilderness and the Iroquois, sees a luminous cross moving athwart the sky, it is the hallucination of an ecstatic moment, and, as it clearly does not interfere with his practical intelligence, may be taken not to interfere with his ordinary perceptions. Yet we must certainly allow for a general atmosphere of the miraculous or marvellous. A great earthquake at Quebec, according to the Jesuit Father Lalemant, was preceded by the appearance of blazing serpents which flew through the air borne on wings of fire. A Christian Algonquin squaw, sitting in bed wide awake, distinctly hears a voice saying "Strange things will happen to-day. The earth will quake." Her husband tells her that she lies. But next morning, going into the forest, she hears the same dread voice which sends her back in terror to her hut. On the same occasion Mother Catherine de St. Augustine beholds in the spirit four furious demons at the four corners of Quebec shaking and trying to ruin it, which they would have done had not Christ appeared as a personage of admirable beauty and ravishing majesty to restrain their fury. The descriptions of the earthquake are tremendous. Men in a boat near Tadousac stare aghast at a large hill covered with trees which sinks into the water before their eyes. Mother Mary of the Incarnation tells of a man who ran all night to escape from a fissure in the earth which opened behind him and chased him as he fled. There were fiery figures of a man vomiting flames, and apparitions too numerous to mention. The "earthquake," which appears to have been nothing more than a land-slide, was sent as a chastisement and a warning to those who were rebelling against the rule of abstinence from brandy imposed by the Fathers, who, in this case, were certainly in the right.

In the case of certain narratives, while the main fact is indisputable, it is difficult to see exactly on what evidence the details rest. That Brébeuf and Lalemant had been put to death at St. Ignace was learned from some Huron prisoners, who had escaped from the invading Iroquois, and whose

general account was confirmed by the remains. But the minute details, those of the moral kind especially, must surely have been in some measure filled in. ("The Jesuits in North America," pp. 489-493).

The Red Indians are to any one but a scientific ethnologist an uninformative study. They are not the progenitors of any civilized nation, and their race is evidently doomed to extinction. Parkman, however, has been able to make his account of them interesting by simple adherence to the facts. Fenimore Cooper's Red Indian is for boys.

The British reader will enjoy the narrative of the long struggle by which it was decided that to England and liberty, not to France and despotism, supremacy on this continent should belong. I appear to have once spoken rather disparagingly of Parkman's delineation of the character of Wolfe. I beg to retract the criticism; the character is well drawn, and an intensely interesting character it is. In the union of tenderness with dauntless courage, and in the triumph of the heroic spirit over the weakness of the bodily frame, it bears a resemblance to that of Nelson, while it has the purity which Nelson's character lacks.

If people only knew how far superior in real interest as well as in intellectual influence Parkman's narratives are to the sensational novel, they would lay the sensational novel aside.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

Les Dompteurs de la Mer—Les Normands en Amérique depuis le X^{me} jusqu' au XV^{me} siècle, par Edmond Neukomm. Paris: Hetzel, [1897]. Pp. 360.

The Annals of the Voyages of the brothers Niccolò and Antonio Zeno in the North Atlantic about the end of the fourteenth century, and the claim founded thereon to a Venetian discovery of America—A criticism and an indictment, by Fred. W. Lucas. London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1898. Pp. xiv, 234.

M. Edmond Neukomm, in a preface, relates the circumstance which turned his attention to the subject of his fanciful

but interesting book. He was at Rouen, in Normandy, where he had been for two months, reading in the extensive library of that city, and on the eve of his departure in the spring, he met M. Gabriel Gravier, so well known in Canada, by his works on the early history of Canada and of America generally. Like the wedding guest who fell a victim to the "Ancient Mariner," he was held spellbound while the scholar poured out his story of the achievements of the Normans on the fields of ocean. He was persuaded to take a pile of books to his lodgings to read. Another and another pile followed, and spring and summer passed, and autumn found him still at Rouen under the influence of the old navigators. At last he broke away, and in this little volume he has set forth all M. Gravier's theories and beliefs received in simple faith. He has adorned them with the trappings of fiction, after the manner of Henty and Jules Verne; and has given us, in a very pleasant mixture of history, legend and fable, all the stories of the pre-Columbian discovery of America, so far as Normans had anything to do with it, and M. Gravier counts among Normans all the Scandinavian people, whether in Norway, Iceland, Greenland, or the northern isles. We in Canada think much of Jacques Cartier. Not so M. Gravier. Cartier was a Malouin—a Breton—and is not enshrined in the Norman Pantheon. He was a Celt, and not a Scandinavian, from either Normandy or Norway. M. Neukomm's book, therefore, celebrates the deeds of the Icelanders and Greenlanders, who discovered Vinland the Good; he relates their doings along the American coast in much detail and sends them as far south as the Potomac, accepting all as truth which is found in any of the sagas and adding such matter, in the way of speeches, conversations and local colour, as seems to him appropriate.

The Zeno narrative is accepted in all its fulness, but M. Neukomm follows Lelewel and makes Henry Sinclair to be a pirate chief—the leader of a pirate horde, which terrorized the north. To round out the story, the fisherman of the Zeno book becomes the superior of the Abbey of St. Thomas, who, to save his abbey from pillage, tells Sinclair of the rich countries across

the western ocean. Sinclair, stimulated by the story, starts on an expedition to Estotiland, Drogio and the White-Man's Land, where many strange things were seen. Our author adds, in confirmation of his belief that Sinclair and Antonio Zeno were in Canada, some details from Father Le Clerq's relations concerning Gaspésie and concludes, with a pleasing contempt for logic:

"Il n'est donc pas douteux que Sinclair ait été comme les anciens Normands, ses compatriotes et ses devanciers, porté tout droit à ce point du Canada, qu'un courant naturel mettait en relation avec les régions du Nord."

That is pretty well, so far as North America is concerned. The Normans are made to discover it twice before Columbus, and Cabot is ignored—but South America was also, according to our author, discovered by the same people, four years before Columbus. The adventures of Jean Cousin, of Dieppe, are related in the same vivid manner. He is made out to have been the pupil of Pierre Desceliers, founder of a school of hydrography (or as it is more pictorially put "inventor of hydrography") at Arques, near Dieppe, about sixty years later. On his voyage of 1488, Cousin discovered Brazil, and among his company was Vincent Yanez Pinzon who, three years later, went with Columbus and showed to the Spanish ships the route to the new world, which he had learned from his Norman master. All of this may be found here, and in the works of Norman authors. M. Neukomm's book is interesting and, although it must not be taken as serious history, it may be useful in directing attention to the mass of legendary history concerning the opening up of the western world. It is well illustrated to interest young people.

Mr. Lucas's exhaustive work upon the Zeno voyages is the most important publication upon this vexed subject which has appeared in English. He has in this handsome volume gone thoroughly into every detail. He explains in his preface that—

"Published anonymously in Venice, in 1558, the story purported to have been compiled from ancient papers belonging to the distinguished Venetian family of Zeno, and to describe the voyages in the North Atlantic of two members of that family, the brothers Nicolò Zeno and Antonio Zeno, at the end of the fourteenth century. From internal evidence, it appears that the compiler was also a member of the same family, and it is

now generally admitted that he was one Nicolò Zeno, a man of some mark, who was born in 1515, and died in 1565. Both the narrative and the map of the North Atlantic, which purports to illustrate and explain it, were at first accepted as genuine, but doubts as to their truthful character quickly arose; and, from that day to this, discussion and speculation have been rife among the historians of geography as to their proper interpretation."

In so far as the narrative is supposed to touch upon the north-east coast of America, it has always appeared to us to be wanting in that air of verisimilitude which pervades every story based upon actual experience. The original documents were kept back, and no one but the anonymous compiler pretends to have seen them. They are supposed to have lain unknown in the Zeno palace at Venice for one hundred years, while Columbus, a Genoese, and Cabot, a Venetian, opened up the new world without having heard of them. It was sixty years after the discovery of America that the exploits of the Zeni brothers were first heard of in Venice, where even the highest nobles went out on trading voyages, and commerce, geography and travel were the all-absorbing themes of conversation. The map obtained general acceptance in consequence of its reproduction in the edition of Ptolemy published at Venice three years later, in 1561, and was embodied by Mercator in his great map of 1569. Ortelius accepted it as authentic, in 1570, and the narrative was included in the second edition of the second volume of Ramusio, in 1574. Thence it was copied by Hakluyt, not, however, without misgiving, and by Purchas even more doubtfully; for the British sailors in the North Atlantic were finding out the untrustworthy character of the map. As the English and Dutch sailors cleared up the geography of the north, the Zeni voyages fell into disrepute. Champlain does not allude to them, and Charlevoix speaks of Estotiland as a fabulous country that never existed excepting in the imagination of the Zeni brothers. It is claimed upon the authority of a manuscript, written in 1536 by Barbaro, upon the genealogies of Venetian families, that the Zeni story was known in Venice at that time. This only makes the matter more doubtful, because in 1550 Ramusio did not know of it, and it was not mentioned by any of that intelligent company at the house of Frascator, when the anonymous scholar discoursed upon the

information he had received from Sebastian Cabot concerning Baccalaos and the very regions described by the Zeni. He told them of what had been done there by Cabot, a fellow Venetian, but no reference was made to the doings of the Zeni, who were Venetian noblemen. Ramusio was secretary to the Council of Ten, in the very heart of Venetian life and information, and he was present at that conversation. The Zeni voyages bore upon the very centre of the argument and, if they had been true, he knew of them then as certainly as the Secretary of the Admiralty now would know of the voyages of Franklin or Ross. Mr. Lucas has not referred to this occurrence, but it has an important bearing on the question.

While belief in these voyages waned in the north the scholars of Italy clung to them, and to this day such writers as Desimioni and Tarducci believe that Cardinal Zurla, in 1818, conclusively demonstrated their truth. Gaffarel seems to accept all the legendary pre-Columbian voyages, and, of course, those of the Zeni among them. Lelewel is a much higher authority, and he also accepts them, but Humboldt hesitates. In America Dr. Justin Winsor withholds his opinion, but Mr. John Fiske receives them as true. Here then is a very pretty "mellay" of jousting critics, and Mr. Lucas's summary of their conflicting theories is exhaustive and most interesting. He calls attention to the important fact that Markham and Harris have dropped these voyages from their later works, and it is also to be noted that none of the disputants in the recent Cabot controversy has ventured to borrow a weapon from the experience of the Zeni. Mr. Lucas shows how Forster, in 1784, revived the dormant interest in the Zeni brothers, and that, struck by the not very obvious similarity between the names Zichmni and Sinclair, he identified the great northern prince of the story with Henry Sinclair, Earl of Caithness and Orkney. Mr. Richard Henry Major has, however, in our day become the champion of the Zeni in the volume he wrote for the Hakluyt Society in 1873. On the other hand, Admiral Zarhtmann, hydrographer of the Danish navy, and intimately acquainted with northern seas, published, in 1833, a most thorough

refutation of the Zeni pretensions. Torfaeus, a learned Iceland-lander (author of *Historia Vinlandiæ*), and familiar with all the sagas and records of his native country, had rejected, in 1715, the story, as did Arngrim Jonas (in 1612), another native Icelandic historian. Mr. Lucas quotes freely from all these early writers, and the somewhat important conclusion suggests itself—that the more practically familiar a writer was with the literature, records and geography of the north, the more confidently he rejected the truth of the Zeni voyages.

Many similar stories haunt the geographical literature of America, but this one is like a weed which can never be eradicated. There was Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado. Nothing could be more precise and circumstantial than the account he gave before the Council of the Indies, in 1588, of his voyage through the Strait of Anian to the Pacific near Vancouver, but it was absolutely false. And again, in 1708, a practical joker, in the London *Monthly Miscellany*, gave a detailed account of the voyage of Admiral Bartholme de Fuentes through the same strait; and the lands discovered by him are actually laid down on the maps (1750 to 1770) of Jeffreys and De l'Isle—royal geographers. That was, to borrow Mr. Major's phrase, a "glowing fancy," though the author of the mystification lived in foggy London. The most charitable construction we can put upon the Zeni story is that one of Nicolo's illustrious ancestors, who sailed (as Mr. Lucas tells us) on one of the official trading voyages from Venice to Flanders and the Baltic, left some records of his voyage which blossomed in some "glowing" imagination into this mass of impossible geography.

Mr. Lucas's volume will, no doubt, find its way into every Canadian library of importance, and it is therefore unnecessary to dwell here upon the contradictions and impossibilities of the story as regards Greenland, Iceland and the northern islands. The episode of the fisherman alone concerns our country, and if Estotiland be Newfoundland and Drogio Nova Scotia or Maine, and the countries to the south the southern States of the Union, it is important that we should know it, for it will belong to our history. Of this, however, Mr. Lucas says, with

truth: "Whatever may be the case as to other parts of the book it seems certain that the whole of this story is pure fiction," and, when we read what the fisherman found on our coasts, we cannot wonder at the conclusion. The fisherman and his companions were conducted to "a most beautiful and largely populated city." The king had them examined by many interpreters, none of whom understood the language of the fishermen, save one, who spoke Latin. The island was rich and abounded in all the good things of the world. The people were quickwitted, practised all the arts, and had a trade with Greenland, whence they imported furs, sulphur and pitch. They had abundance of gold, lived in many towns and cities, and there were Latin books in the king's library. They raised grain and brewed beer, and had many ships, but no knowledge of the compass. There was a high mountain in the centre of the island, from which flowed four rivers that watered the country. If any Canadian can recognize Newfoundland or Labrador in this description he will be more highly gifted than most of his countrymen. So much for Estotiland.

Drogio is supposed to be Nova Scotia, though Kohl, in his *Discovery of Maine*, marks it as the part of that State near the Penobscot. The description of the people and country might easily have been taken from Verazzano, Gomez, or Cartier, but the account of the country to the south is evidently extracted from Cortes and the Spanish writers. The fisherman is made to report as follows:

"The farther one goes to the south-west, the greater civilization one finds, because there the climate is more temperate; so that there are cities, and temples of idols wherein they sacrifice men, whom they afterwards eat."

While Estotiland and Drogio are evidently mythical, what shall we say about Icaria? After the fisherman returned, Zichmni fitted out an expedition to sail to Estotiland, but unfortunately the fisherman died three days before it sailed. The expedition set out, however, and "steered westward." Then came the usual storm, and the ships were scattered; but after the storm subsided they "gathered the ships together and sailed with a prosperous wind again westward," and at last they discovered land. "on the west," which proved to be an island

called Icaria, and here the writer gave way to what Mr. Major calls the "glowing fancies of his sunny clime," for the "kings that reigned there were called Icari, after the first king who, as they said, was the son of Dædalus, King of Scotland," and who "was drowned in a great tempest"; and in "memory of his death that sea was called to this day the Icarian Sea." That seems a brilliant outbreak of classic lore; but Forster suggested, and Major is convinced, that Icaria is, in fact, Kerry, on the south-west coast of Ireland. It does not appear how it is possible, from a ship on the Atlantic sailing westwards, to discover the coast of Kerry *on the west*. It must always be remembered that neither Zeno nor Zichmni got to Estotiland. They tried to do so, and came out at Kerry. It was the fisherman who had seen Estotiland, and he opportunely died just as the expedition was starting.

The block over which those who have accepted this story have stumbled is thus indicated by Mr. Major:

"The puzzle consisted in this, that it [the Zeno map] presented geographical information very far in advance not only of what was known by geographers of the fourteenth century, but greatly in advance also of the geography of the sixteenth century, when it was published."

This puzzle Mr. Lucas, by the aid of some recently discovered maps, has been able most conclusively to solve. He shows that the fisherman's story was taken from descriptions in books existing at the time. All the unusual features of the map he found to exist on a map of Olaus Magnus, published in Venice in 1539, a copy of which was discovered at Munich in 1886, and on the Zamoiski map of 1467, discovered at Warsaw in 1888. Three undated maps of the same period, found at Florence, have similar features, and these, together with the Donis Ptolemy of 1482, and other maps current at the date of publication of the Zeni voyages, in fact contain all the information supposed by Major and others to have been in advance of the time. Mr. Lucas informs us that Professor Gustav Storme, in 1890, very fully set forth before the Geographical Society of Norway the fictitious character of these voyages, but no translation has appeared in English. In this volume, however, is collected everything bearing on the subject. Not only is there a translation of the

narrative, but a photographic reproduction of every page of the book itself and of Hakluyt's translation from Ramusio. To these are appended reproductions of the Zeni map and of seventeen other maps, besides many illustrations in the text. The volume is, in short, a complete collection of everything necessary to form a judgment, and a thorough demonstration of the fictitious character of the story.

Proceedings at the Opening of the Cabot Tower at Bristol, on Tuesday, September 6th, 1898. Bristol: Western Daily Press.

The Voyages of the Cabots—Latest Phases of the Controversy, by Samuel Edward Dawson, Lit. D. (Laval). (From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1897). Ottawa: James Hope & Son. Pp. 130.

Report on Canadian Archives for 1897, by Douglas Brymner, LL.D. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1898. Pp. xxiv, 126, 180.

The Cabot Legends—Appendix to section 2 of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1897. Ottawa: J. Durie & Son, 1898. Pp. 22.

Review of Hart's American History told by Contemporaries, vol. 1, by E. J. Payne. (English Historical Review, January, 1898.)

Outcome of the Cabot Quater-Centenary, by Henry Harrisse. (American Historical Review, October, 1898.)

L'Atterrage de Jean Cabot au Continent Américain en 1497, par Henry Harrisse—(Mémoire à la Société royale des Sciences de Goettingue dans sa séance du 30 Octobre, 1897, et extrait de ses Nachrichten)—Goettingue, 1897.

John and Sebastian Cabot—The Discovery of North America, by C. Raymond Beazley, M.A., F.R.C.S., Fellow of Merton College. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898. Pp. xx, 312.

A review of the Cabot literature of the past year should be preceded by a reference to the opening of the memorial tower at Bristol, which commemorates the discovery of the mainland of this continent, and which will establish forever, in the mind

of the English people, the name and reputation of John Cabot, so hardly rescued from neglect and even oblivion. The proceedings at the opening, and the speeches which followed at the dinner in the evening, elicited no new points of interest. It would, no doubt, have been more precise in the speakers to have used the expression eastern, or, at most, north-eastern coast of America, rather than to have alluded so frequently to the discovery of the *northern* coast by Cabot; more especially as the colonization of the continent by the English race was dwelt upon as the sequence of his achievement. Upon such occasions as these precision of historical composition is not expected; still, it seems to have been overlooked by all the speakers that any benefit which may have been the result of the fisheries as a training for sailors was reaped in the first instance, for one hundred years, to a far greater extent by Portugal, Spain and France than by England. The oldest names, along the coasts ranged by the Cabots, are not English names; and Richard Hakluyt harped incessantly upon the slackness of his countrymen in taking possession of regions discovered for England, though in his day known and frequented chiefly by foreigners. At the present moment that neglect of Cabot's achievement is written in large characters on what is called the "French shore" of Newfoundland, and it saturates the whole history of the colony. The Marquis of Dufferin struck a true note in his reference to Sir Walter Raleigh and the adventurous seamen who forced upon the court of Elizabeth the importance of the western world. The real import of Cabot's voyage is nowhere stated with so much historic precision as on the tablet placed at Halifax by the Royal Society of Canada. He "gave to England a claim upon the continent which the colonizing spirit of her sons made good in later times." It is all in that sentence. The fisheries of Newfoundland were no more a school for English than for French, Spanish and Portuguese sailors. The two latter dropped out; but when, in 1788, the Imperial Parliament undertook to prevent any English settlements on one-half of the length of the coast of Newfoundland, lest the French fishermen might be incommoded,

they undertook to keep the school open to another nation in a far wider sense than the treaty of Utrecht required, and intensified the neglect which had almost overwhelmed the merit of Cabot's enterprise.

Dr. S. E. Dawson has, in this third contribution to the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, completed his series of studies of the Cabot voyages and reviewed all the changing phases of the recent controversy concerning them down to the present year. The paper is very long, but he excuses himself by the plea that he had to hold the field against a large number of assailants advancing theories contradictory to each other, and mutually destructive, yet uniting at the same time in attacking the views he had put forth in his two previous papers. For this reason, also, the paper is somewhat polemical, though restrained within the usual lines of historical discussion. There is also some repetition due to the necessity of answering objections to certain portions of his papers urged from contradictory points of view, where an answer to one would not be an answer to the others. This is doubtless a draw back, from a popular point of view; but inasmuch as the paper seems to be a final one, its length may, perhaps, be condoned.

The central point of Dr. Dawson's thesis is Juan de la Cosa's map—a contemporaneous document of first-class importance—and, if the easternmost point in the north-east coast of America was, in 1497, where it is now, that point is Cape Race on our maps, and Cavo de Ynglaterra on La Cosa's. That once established, all the rest is simple. The other parts of the paper are converging evidences to the truth of the central theory. The evidence is cumulative and the conclusion will not be invalidated by refuting any one of these co-operative lines of proof. The conflicting theories of critics have driven the author into inquiries extending over a large field of geography and history. Some of the questions raised are treated in appendices, so as to keep the lines of the main argument clear.

One strong feature of Dr. Dawson's series of papers is the abundance of cartographic illustrations. In this last paper there are thirty-six reproductions in the text of extracts from

maps, one full-page map and one full-page reproduction of an extract from the customs register of Bristol in 1497. Besides these there are photo-lithographed copies, half the size of the originals, of Juan de la Cosa's map of the year 1500, and of the Sebastian Cabot map of 1544. Whoever is interested in the question will find in this paper all the materials necessary to form an independent judgment.

The annual report of the Dominion Archivist deals with a different part of the field of historic research; but recognizing that the Cabot voyages are in very truth the foundation facts of Canadian history, Dr. Brymner obtained in Paris a photograph of the Cabot map of 1544. This is reproduced in the report of 1897, and, by the courtesy of the Minister of Agriculture, it was also published in the Transactions of the Royal Society. A short summary of the controversy concerning this map has been added by Dr. S. E. Dawson, and the legends on the map, with translations taken from Dr. Deane's paper in the Transactions of the Massachusetts Historical Society, are appended.

Not the least among the contributions of the Royal Society of Canada to the elucidation of the Cabot voyages is a small pamphlet, which appears as an appendix to Section 2, in the Transactions of 1897. Although the legends on the Cabot map of 1544 may be read, by the aid of a magnifying glass, on the photo-lithographic reproduction in the volume, there are many difficulties in the contractions, as well as in the Latin and old Spanish in which they are written. There is always a danger also of the discovery of troublesome "mare's nests" when people, unfamiliar with such matters, but confident in their native wit, set themselves to interpret, for the first time, such difficult documents. Hence came this reprint of the legends with a translation into English. It is clearly stated at the first that this is not original work of the Society; but a reprint from a paper of the late Dr. Charles Deane, and to be found in the Transactions of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1890-1. These volumes are not generally accessible, and it was a happy thought to reproduce, at the present time, this portion of Dr. Deane's paper. Among many scholars who

have studied the question none was more capable or took a deeper interest in it than Dr. Deane. He had the legends copied out and translated by experts in Latin and Spanish, and marked by change of type the various readings of the two versions and added explanatory notes where required. A reproduction of the well-known Biddle portrait of Sebastian Cabot is prefixed to the pamphlet.

The Cabot voyages have not disturbed the calm dignity of the English Historical Review so much as new views upon the Periplus of Hanno would probably have done. Mr. E. J. Payne, however, in a review of Vol. I of Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, has touched upon the Cabot discussion. Mr. Hart's very useful book consists of short extracts from documents which are prime sources of history. In relation to the Cabot voyages, he has reprinted portions of Markham's translation of Pasqualigo's and Soncino's letters, and these alone. Mr. Payne highly approves of this selection; for, he says, they tell us all that is known, or ever likely to be known, about the matter. He adds that he has "incurred odium and sustained some coarse personal abuse" about an original Cabot theory he had put forth. If this be the theory advocated before the Geographical Society, in the discussion of 1897, it was indeed original and was apparently found trying by some irritable Cabotian. We cannot concur with Mr. Payne in thinking that the letters reproduced in Mr. Hart's volume are inaccessible. They have been the texts around which, for thirty years, a keen controversy has raged, and they have been repeatedly printed by Harrisse, Weare, Tarducci, Beazley, Deane, Winsor and others, as well as in magazines and reviews. Mr. Hart, doubtless, exercised good judgment in giving these extracts; but he makes no comments whatever upon them, and we cannot see why Mr. Payne should suppose that Mr. Hart inclines to his theory—that Cabot made only one voyage, starting in 1496 and returning in 1497. Certainly there is nothing in either Pasqualigo or Soncino to favour such a view, and, when Mr. Payne looks around for authorities to support the theory of a northern voyage "by way of Iceland following the

Iceland route to the Cape of Labrador," he has himself to resort to Gomara; thereby admitting that it is not to be found in those contemporaneous documents which, he informs us, "tell all that is known, or likely to be known, on the subject."

Elucidating his theory, Mr. Payne disputes Sir Clements Markham's rendering of the words of Pasqualigo, *é stato mesi tre sul viazo*, "he has been away three months on the voyage," given in the well-known volume, no. 86 of the Hakluyt Society series. All other translators, however, interpret the words as Markham does. Mr. Payne's view is peculiar to himself. This is the way he puts it:

"As the great event described by Pasqualigo is Cabot's return from the expedition, rather than the expedition itself considered as a whole from beginning to end, the most reasonable version would seem to be the literal one, *he has been three months on the voyage*, i.e., the return voyage from the American coast. Nobody who considers seriously the conditions under which the voyage was made can for a moment suppose that the whole expedition occupied only three months."

To say that the great event was the *return* voyage is to strain the meaning of the letter. The return was not the surprising event Pasqualigo was communicating to his brother in Venice. It was the fact that the country of the Grand Khan had been found across the ocean on a voyage westward from Bristol, and, incidentally, he tells the length of time Cabot was away. That Mr. Payne's theory requires him to read such a non-natural meaning into Pasqualigo's letter is a proof of its unsoundness, and, inasmuch as he has a monopoly of the theory, it is a little strong to say that "nobody who considers seriously" can "for a moment" differ from him.

Mr. Harrisse has much reason when, in his elaborate article in the October number of the *American Historical Review*, he remarks upon the want of interest in the Cabot celebration, as compared with the commemoration of Columbus in 1892. As he points out, Cabot was more to the English and American people than Columbus. Cabot landed somewhere in British America—almost certainly in the Canadian Dominion, and yet, in the schools of this country, his name is ignored and nearly every reference to the subject, in popular speech or in the press, is erroneous. Mr. Harrisse is scarcely accurate, however, in

stating that the Bristol subscription was got up by Americans resident there, and that it was an utter failure. The graceful monumental tower on Brandon Hill, overlooking the port of Bristol and the whole surrounding country, is a visible demonstration of the contrary. Those who have striven to stir up public interest in the matter have not had Mr. Harrisse's assistance. He has been "a wee bit fractious" and has intervened, more to discredit than to aid the movement, by throwing doubt upon almost every accepted conclusion—even upon a point so well established as the date of the discovery. In this interesting article Mr. Harrisse sums up the long controversy. He dismisses most of the writing on the subject with a few words of contempt, and, after ruthlessly uprooting Senator Henry Cabot Lodge's ancestral tree, around which the fond fancies of the Cabots of Massachusetts were entwining, he passes on to discuss a paper which the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava contributed to Scribner's Magazine. It is scarcely fair to criticize a popular paper in an illustrated magazine as if it were a contribution to a learned society. The paper was written in a style suitable to the readers for whom it was intended. A regular orthodox Cabot article might have pleased Mr. Harrisse; but it would possibly have ruined the magazine. The paper was reviewed in last year's volume of this Review and, with the exception of the story about Cabot's negotiation of a treaty between England and Denmark, which is borrowed from Anspach, the subject is fairly presented. Where Anspach got his story no one now seems to know; Lord Dufferin found it in Anspach's *History of Newfoundland*, and accepted it as a matter of course, for there is a most misleading array of circumstance about it. If Lord Dufferin has stated that Sebastian Cabot was born in Bristol, it is no more than what was currently believed up to a very recent time, and, even now, it is doubtful if the Bristolians are convinced to the contrary. As we pointed out at the time, the strength of his paper lay in his admirable summary of geographical history at the period of the Cabot voyages and during the long ages back to the time of the Greeks.

With Sir Clements Markham Mr. Harrisse is more seriously

concerned, because that writer touched the central point of the argument by saying of the map of 1544, "As Sebastian Cabot had no motive for falsifying his map, he did not do so, and the *Prima Vista* (i.e. Cape Breton), where he placed it, is the true landfall of John Cabot on his first voyage." This Mr. Harrissee considers particularly hard; inasmuch as he has insisted that Cabot falsified the map for the purpose of creating a basis for claims on behalf of England to the countries which Cartier had in the meantime discovered in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He still argues that Cabot was then meditating the transfer of his services to England, and that such a design was motive adequate to account for the fraud. Sir Clements Markham gave a sufficient answer, at page xxxiii of his Hakluyt Society volume for 1893, and in Dr. Dawson's papers the point is fully covered. Mr. Harrissee insists upon some cause being assigned for the different location of the landfall on the Spanish maps. The simple and adequate explanation is given by Dr. Dawson in his third paper. It is, that in making maps for the Spanish Government Cabot embodied in them the political claims of the Spanish crown, and the *Padron Real* was a graphic summary of these claims. When, however, Spain ceased to be concerned about the northeast coast and Cabot gave information for a map to be published away from Spain, on his own personal authority, he was at liberty to set forth the facts as he knew them to be, and then he placed the landfall at Cape Breton and gave his father's name for the first time. At page 192 of his third paper Dr. Dawson gives a copy of Robert Thorne's map, made secretly at Seville in 1527, not from the *Padron Real*, and on it the English discoveries are shown along the coast from latitude 40° northwards. It is useless to deny that the English discoveries as far south at least as Maine were known in Spain. La Cosa put them on his map, Cabot did not conceal them in conversation, Robert Thorne put them on his map in 1527, and Cabot on his map in 1544.

We may be pardoned if we dwell a little longer on this point, for it is the very knot of the question. This theory of Cabot's motives for falsifying his map has been formulated

since the publication of *Jean et Sebastian Cabot* in 1882; yet no new matter has come to light since then pertinent to the point. Mr. Harrisse had all the Contarini letters—he knew all about the Ragusan friar in 1882; but these motives for falsifying the map of 1544 did not appear until his *Discovery of America*, published ten years later. May we not ask what occurred in that period to suggest a new departure? In his *Mémoire* at Göttingen, in 1897, he admits that it is only a theory. He says (p. 17) “Cette explication n’est qu’une conjecture, mais elle nous paraît fort probable,” and then he says of the map (p. 11) that it is authentic, “Elle est bien l’œuvre de Sebastien Cabot.” Surely it is not historically sound to invalidate an authentic contemporary document by a mere conjecture—a sudden conviction of the total depravity of Sebastian Cabot, founded upon nothing which had not been known ten years previously. It is the more unreasonable because, after Cabot did go to England, the English made no claims upon the coasts of Baccalaos; but Cabot became the president of a company to extend English trade to the north-east of Europe, and English enterprise flowed out in a diametrically opposite direction.

The stress of Mr. Harrisse’s article is, however, directed against the three papers in the “Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,” by Dr. S. E. Dawson. There are many points of difference between the two writers, but Mr. Harrisse devotes most space to that which Sir Clements Markham, in his address before the Royal Geographical Society in 1897, states that Dr. Dawson was the first to call attention to, viz., the influence of magnetic variation.

The enormous mass of evidence which Dr. Dawson adduces throughout his three papers and in their appendices demonstrates, if demonstration of anything be possible, that wherever the landfall was in 1497, it cannot have been at Labrador. Sebastian Cabot’s total depravity must be postulated, his map must be assumed to be falsified, the icebergs and field ice must be ignored, the fogs must be swept away, and the immemorial habits even of the codfish of the coast must be interfered with,

to permit us to believe that John Cabot landed on the coast between Sandwich Bay and Invuctoke (Hamilton Inlet) on June 24th; for that is the place assigned in Mr. Harrisse's Göttingen paper. What is there so magical in that region as to make it necessary to get John Cabot there—only there—as by miracle? The Göttingen paper propounds the hypothesis shortly, and it may be thus summarized. Ireland extends from $51^{\circ} 15'$ to $55^{\circ} 15'$ N. lat. On that coast Cabot turned his prow westward, and lat. 53° is a medium between the two points. There is no mention of change to the south, but Soncino gives the direction as west alone. Opposite, across the Atlantic, is Labrador and Sandwich Bay, or Hamilton Inlet, about lat. 53° . On that coast was therefore the landfall. Then follows the argument from the Spanish maps, and, Cabot's own map being rejected as falsified, the case is supposed to be proved. If it were a question of a ferry across a river, where the opposite bank can be seen, a short cut across would be conceivable; and to one not familiar with the North Atlantic, looking at a Mercator chart, such a crossing might seem to be likely, if Cabot had only known the configuration of the opposite coast. The whole theory is put out of court by the simple fact that Cabot followed his compass, and west by compass would take him south of Newfoundland, if the other conditions of the ocean, the winds and currents, did not counteract.

But why should it be certain that Cabot followed the needle of his compass? Because he intended to return home, and, on a perfectly unknown ocean, it was his only guide. Because all sailors did so, and because all sailing charts then, and for one hundred years after, were drawn to a magnetic meridian and covered by lines of compass bearings. If those who discuss this matter would read the translation of Champlain's chapter on maps, forming appendix "A" to Dr. Dawson's paper of 1894, they would learn from a practical sailor a few things they do not know about the compass in these northern seas.

In this ferry-trip, straight across from Ireland to Labrador on the parallel of about 53° to $53^{\circ} 30'$, Mr. Harrisse takes no

account of magnetic variation, no account of the southward Arctic current, and thus ignores the predominant characteristics of the North Atlantic. It is not in the atmosphere of libraries, heavy with the dust of learned folios, that such knowledge is gained. If he had once stood beside the man at the wheel of a west-bound ship and watched the compass card by the binnacle light, while the dense fog clung fast down upon the gray and melancholy sea, he would be startled to find that the ship was sailing not west, but west-north-west and often north-west to make her true course. If John Cabot sailed across to Labrador his vessel's head could never have been west by his compass for one single day, unless the magnetic pole coincided at that time with the true pole. Can a vessel now sail across and ignore the magnetic variation and the polar current? If not, how could Cabot have done it? Some critics say the variation was then the same as now. If so, it is worse still for the advocates of Labrador. Others say there was no variation at all, which is contradictory to the testimony of Columbus, and others that it does not make any difference whether there was or was not. Mr. HARRISSE ignores the hydrography of the North Atlantic and the magnetism of the earth. He must have his winds from the south-west, but does not remember that with south-west winds there must be thick weather, and he brings his vessel to the opposite shore as an engineer would lay a railway. Nobody had thought of magnetic variation, in its relation to this question, until Dr. Dawson pointed out its great importance in these high latitudes. It is so simple that every sailor recognizes at once its bearing on the question; but those who have never used maps to navigate by are apt to overlook it.

It was a serious error on Dr. Dawson's part that he did not publish, in his first paper, the magnetic chart of the North Atlantic in 1492, compiled by the officers of the U. S. Geodetic Survey. That would have made his meaning clearer and would have prevented many from stumbling over a subject unfamiliar to most landsmen who are not surveyors. We cannot, in the space allotted to us, go over an argument already so fully set forth. Mr. HARRISSE will have none of this subject of variation.

It is destructive to his theories; so, taking a sentence from one of Dr. Dawson's papers out of the light of its context and away from its place in a chain of argument, he builds upon it a superstructure of trigonometry, oblivious of the fact that the quantities are hypothetical and the whole reasoning is, as all historical reasoning must be, in the arena of probable truth. This mass of figures he calls "Mathematical demonstration of the fallacy," and repeats it over and over in all his papers. If even the comparison between Cabot and Columbus were shown logarithmically to be incorrect, of what avail is it? The magnetism of the earth is a fact which still remains unaffected.

The cause of Mr. Harriase's error is that he does not see that mathematical reasoning is nothing but the evolution of truth already contained in data; and that the more a probable quantity is multiplied, or squared or cubed, the greater chance there must be of some absurd error. Mathematics are totally irrelevant in the region of probable truth. There is no need to go over these calculations so foreign to Mr. Harriase's previous studies; which in fact, he tells us, have been contributed by another hand. The conclusion is sufficient. It is "that the magnetic variation which Cabot must have experienced in order to double Cape Race is equal to 29° "; consequently if he actually doubled Cape Race, he did not experience a magnetic variation of one point and a half, as Dr. Dawson says, but a variation of over two points and a half, viz., of 29° degrees." The conclusion is untrue, and therefore a whole book of logarithms would not make the figures right. There is no need of going over calculations so plainly erroneous, and Dr. Dawson in his last paper did not do so. He simply measured the angle on an admiralty chart and found that an angle of variation of only twelve and three-quarter degrees (that is, less than a point and a half) would have carried Cabot clear of Cape Race from the conceded point of departure. If the variation were as great as it is now it would be worse for his opponents. He has given reasons in detail for his belief to which we must refer the reader. One point more and we shall pass from this very technical subject. Dr. Dawson observes that on Pedro Reinel's

map there are two scales; one on the margin and perpendicular, on which Cape Race is shown to be in latitude $50\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., and the other at an angle giving the Cape in 47° N., nearly its true latitude. This, as Dr. Dawson was the first to observe, indicates the true meridian on a magnetic chart. Mr. Harrisse says that this will be news to scholars, and that if it were true Kohl would have commented upon it. We would remark that Kohl did comment upon it and, not knowing what to make of it, thought that *perhaps* it was added to the map by a later hand. If, however, the student will turn up volume 2 of Laverdière's *Champlain*, he will find, at page 326, a map drawn magnetically, on which the true meridian is indicated by a similar oblique line. In later times the opposite system was adopted and maps were drawn as now to a true meridian and the magnetic meridian was indicated by an oblique line with a north point. It seems, therefore, as if another contribution to the elucidation of cartography had been added.

There is another important point which must be referred to, viz., Mr. Harrisse's statement that "the alleged suppression of maps by Spain is a pure invention." On the contrary, it is the received opinion with all scholars, excepting Mr. Harrisse. The late Dr. Justin Winsor, in an article on the "Perils of Historical Narrative" in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1890, asks, "Who, for instance, can be quite sure of the maps of the age of American discovery, when we know Spain always concealed her knowledge, and would sometimes resort to falsification in her hydrographical offices to deceive her rivals?"

Mr. Harrisse himself teaches us that all Spanish maps were made, by strict censorship, to correspond with the official map (Padron Real). He is maintaining a contradiction. He might as well maintain that all religious opinions were tolerated in Spain. The very existence of an official standard, with officers to enforce conformity, is sufficient evidence that maps which did not conform were suppressed. These methods of centralization are engrained in the Spanish mind, and have at length lost for Spain the last foothold in her world-wide empire.

The history of the Cabots suggests many serious reflections.

They discovered for the English race this great western continent, but their names are scarcely known among the millions of English-speaking people in North America. We know not when or where either of the Cabots died; and not even a simple headstone can be found to mark the resting-place of their remains. The remains of Columbus were removed with stately ceremony from Valladolid to Seville, and thence to Hispaniola. As the Spanish empire shrank they were removed to Havana, and now, at its collapse, they are taken back to Spain. The motto, *A Castilla y a Leon Nuevo mundo dio Colon*, and the returning ashes of the great admiral emphasize the rise and the ruin of a world-wide empire. Magellan, a Portuguese by birth, took to Spain secrets he had learned in the service of his native country, and gave to Spain the Philippine Islands which his countrymen had first visited. It was common in those days for great sailors to pass from the service of one monarch to another, and yet the younger Cabot, for attempting to get back to the service of his native country, is branded as a scoundrel and a traitor. Can that be wrong in Cabot which passes without reprobation in all the others? Or did Sebastian Cabot's conduct involve one-tenth of the treason of the illustrious Magellan?

The publishers of the series of *Builders of Great Britain* could not overlook, during the Cabot year, the claims of the Cabots to a place in their series, and they did well to entrust the work to so capable a hand as that of Mr. Beazley. His treatment is, of necessity, popular. The book is a summary of all that has been written. Its distinguishing note is that first struck in the controversy by Dr. Dawson, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1894. This was pointed out in his paper of 1896 as follows: "I arrived at my conclusions in a way which, strange though it be, was not in this question followed before. I adopted the principle, so familiar in New Testament criticism, of first studying the contemporary documents, *solely, and apart from all comments and later documents*, and in that way what was before obscure became clear." Mr. Beazley has also followed this course, and has

improved upon it by reprinting at length those documents which, in the Royal Society papers, had only been cited or partially quoted; and the result is a volume containing in convenient shape all the documents which must of necessity dominate the argument. He has moreover appreciated the fact that not only is the map of Juan de la Cosa a contemporary document, but that the right identification of the Cavo de Ynglaterra of that map is the cardinal point upon which the discussion must turn. In recognizing it as Cape Race he concurs with Dr. Dawson, and the book throughout its main argument, where the subject-matter is the same, shows a substantial agreement with the views set forth in the three papers published in the Transactions of the Royal Society. Mr. Beazley, however, displays more caution and will not commit himself to a definite landfall. He sees in Cape Breton no more than the southernmost point of a possible landfall along a line of coast. No one would object to this caution, and it would pass without criticism, if Mr. Beazley had not given his reasons as follows (p. 73):

"The probability is strong against the explorers having been drifted close by Cape Race on their way to Cape Breton without seeing it—the time of the year is against it, as regards wind, currents and atmosphere. The weather is likely to have been clear at midsummer, and the seas setting pretty close into Cape Race, which itself is as likely a point for the *Prima Vista* as any other."

Mr. Beazley has evidently not been on these coasts, or he would have known that *just because it was midsummer* the chances were immensely in favour of Cape Race being thickly wrapped in fog. He is transferring the conditions of another hemisphere to the Newfoundland coast. This point has been anticipated at page 202 of Dr. Dawson's paper of 1897. He said:

"The weariness of this controversy is due to the singular fact that no matter how absolutely trite any proposition may be some one will be found to rise up and contradict it. Even the fog prevailing at Cape Race in June is disputed, and, to save a tedious discussion about that, I have given in appendix 'C' a table, from the returns of the lighthouse keeper at Cape Race, showing the number of foggy days in June during the last four years. Any one who knows better may contradict the lighthouse keeper."

Mr. Beazley has done it.

The volume will be found very interesting. It contains a

summary of the pre-Columbian voyages, in which, however, we are disposed to think too much weight is attached to the shadowy Chinese voyages to Fusang, about A.D. 499; but, on the other hand, the Zeni voyages of A.D. 1390-1400 are, in our opinion, properly classed among myths; though many scholars accept them as authentic. The life of Sebastian Cabot is followed to its close, and there are intelligent discussions of the different maps which have figured in the controversy. Any one who demands a rational summary of all that is known of the Cabots will find it in this volume. It is much more difficult to write so good a work than to point out the few little inconsistencies in it.

Bibliotheca Lindesiana: Collations and Notes, No. 4. Autotype Facsimiles of Three Mappemondes: 1, The Harleian (or anonymous) Mappemonde, circa 1536; 2, The Mappemonde by Desceliers of 1546; 3, The Mappemonde by Desceliers of 1550; with an introduction, including a short notice on Desceliers' later Mappemonde of 1553, by Charles Henry Coote. London: Privately printed, 1898.

Students of American history and of geography generally will sincerely thank the Earl of Crawford for the reproduction by photography of these three mappemondes, and in presenting to the Royal Society of Canada one copy out of the limited number of one hundred printed he has put Canadian scholars under an especial obligation. The first of them in order of date—the Harleian map, as it has often been called—has never been reproduced before. Extracts have been made from it and references made to it, but the extracts have been in outline with few names, and not until the original manuscript in the British Museum became thus accessible in autotype facsimile has the importance of the map been manifest to Canadians. All three maps belong to the school of cartography founded at Arques, near Dieppe, by a learned priest, Pierre Desceliers. Norman writers are pleased to think that he was born in Dieppe, in 1440, and originated there the

science of hydrography—an impossible theory, as it would imply that he was making those beautiful maps at the age of one hundred to one hundred and twenty years. The learned editor, Mr. Coote, describes four maps by Desceliers and distinguishes them as A, B, C, D, in their order of date, from 1536 to 1553. Of these the last has disappeared of late years and the others are here given. In the early part of the sixteenth century Dieppe was a most important centre of nautical enterprise, and the daring of seamen like Cousin and Parmentier was backed by great merchant princes like the Angos, and their achievements were aided and recorded on maps by the school of cartographers, of which the Abbé Desceliers was among the most accomplished.

Map A has, for Canada, especial interest; for it is really a contemporaneous graphic record of Jacques Cartier's first and second voyages. Mr. Coote does not do it justice when he speaks of "a somewhat unsatisfactory attempt to interpolate a few of the imperfectly understood results of Jacques Cartier's first (and perhaps second) voyage to Canada, 1534-1536." Whoever drew the map must have had before him Cartier's maps of both voyages. Cartier arrived at St. Malo, from his second voyage, on July 6th, 1536, and beyond all question the map was made after that date. Mr. Coote gives the date as *circa* 1536, Harrissee as *circa* 1542, although later, in his *Discovery of America*, he puts it among the doubtful maps of 1533. It contains no trace of Roberval's expedition, nor of Cartier's third voyage. There was not much time in the year 1536 to get it out, though it might have been done. The question is not important; what is important to us is that here we have a presentment of Cartier's missing maps, made while he was alive and residing, though not at Dieppe, in Normandy, at St. Malo, in Brittany, not so far away that easy communication could not take place. A difference of opinion exists as to the maker of the map. Mr. Coote is sure it was made by Desceliers, while Mr. Harrissee is of opinion that it was not from his hand, although it belongs to the Dieppe school of cartography. This, again, is not important. Whoever made it was a master

of the art. It differs from the maps B and C in retaining the sea of Verazzano, and thus bringing the great south sea close to the Atlantic—about the latitude of the Carolinas, an error avoided in the later maps and which gives colour to Mr. Harris's view.

The reproduction of this, as of the others also, is the full size of the original, and is in fifteen sheets. Each map has a key map on a reduced scale, showing at one glance the map as a whole. To go over all the points of interest on map A would require too much space, but it will be of interest to consider especially that portion extending from Quebec to the Ottawa River, and it must be noted that there are names on this map which are not in any printed record of Cartier's voyages. After St. Croix, where Cartier passed the winter (1535-6), is *Stadacone*, then *Teginonclay* and *Adcoenoda* (new names). *Hochelay* is next (in the narrative *Ochelay* and *Achelacy*). This is the place now known as *Le Richelieu*—a word of which (unless it be a corruption of this old name) we have never heard the derivation or meaning. Cartier describes the narrow channel, the rapid current and the rocks, in words which might be inserted in the sailing directions of to-day. The ocean steamers arrange to pass this place always at flood tide. The next name is *R. de Fouez* (the St. Maurice)—but it is at the entrance of the lake. On Lake St. Peter is a name not in the narrative, *Mont de prey*. The lake is not named, but the islands at the western end are called *Les ys d'angoulesme*. In the margin of Hakluyt the lake is called Lake de Angoulesme, and it has that name in the Henry II and later maps. Cartier lost his way among these islands (not a difficult thing to do even now), and here are marked a river flowing from the south (the Richelieu), and one from the north, not easy to identify; for it might be the Loup or the Assumption. The next name is *Terre Facob*, which we do not understand, and last is *le premier Sault*. The name *Ochilaga* is in capitals, and applies to the region generally. All these names are on the north side, but opposite *le premier Sault* (Lachine Rapids), and the only name on the south shore, is *St. Malo*. Beyond, a large

river (the Ottawa) flows in from the north-west, and the main river continues away indefinitely to the south-west. The name *St. Malo* is not in the narrative; but it is also in the map B, just about the situation of the present village of Laprairie, and so the loyal Breton marked his westernmost point with the name of his native city, although he well knew that the feast of St. Malo was not until November 15th—a point to be noted by liturgical geographers. Cartier could have seen the junction of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence in his view from Mount Royal, for there are several places whence both Lake St. Louis may be seen to the south-west and the Lake of Two Mountains to the north-west. The Indians also told him of the Ottawa and of the three *Saults* in the St. Lawrence; and on his third voyage he went up past the three Saults by land. These are not marked on the map, nor is the town of *Tutonaguy* laid down, and we therefore think that the map includes nothing later than the second voyage.

This very interesting map was called by Mr. Harrissee after the Earl of Oxford, who once owned it, the Harleian map. Winsor, who had not seen it, in his *Narrative and Critical History* (Vol. IV, pp. 88, 89) tells us that Jomard had communicated to Kohl a "curious French map," and that it is among the tracings in the Kohl collection at Washington. (It is no. 157 of that collection.) Winsor gives, on page 89, a tracing of this map, and gave it a name, "the Jomard map, 155—(?)." Under that name it was copied by Dawson (p. 82, *Trans. Royal Soc. Can.*, 1894), and by others. Mr. Coote charges Winsor with confounding it with map B, the Henry II or Dauphin map of 1546, by Desceliers, and Dawson with following him in the error. Neither of these writers knew when they wrote that the map Jomard gave to Kohl was only an extract of the Canadian portion of the mappemonde which Harrissee had called the Harleian map; but they did not confound it with any other map, and most certainly not with the Henry II or Dauphin map; for Winsor at page 85 of the same volume gives also a tracing of that map, correctly named and dated 1546, and Dawson at page 81 of the same paper of 1894 gives a larger

extract, made from Jomard's facsimile in *Monuments de la Géographie*, with the correct name and date, 1546. No such error as Mr. Coote supposes has existed in Canada as to map B. Ganong gives an extract from it (Trans. Royal Soc. Can., 1889), while also following Winsor with a tracing of what the latter writer had called the "Jomard map," by way of identification, *as having been communicated to Kohl by Jomard, not as having been published in facsimile by Jomard*, for that map has always been known, in the American books, as the Dauphin or Henry II map of 1546. The writers who have used Kohl's (so called) Jomard map have thus given both, and their arguments stand good; for the names by which the same map is called by different people cannot invalidate any argument based on its geographical features.

Map B of Lord Crawford's autotypes is this Dauphin or Henry II map, of 1546 (reproduced in facsimile by Jomard, in 1862), of which extracts have so often been given in the American and Canadian books. The autotype process has not been so successful in the case of this map, for some of the bright colours have come up with the black, and the names cannot be distinguished on the dark background.

Map C is the Desceliers map of 1550. It is adorned more profusely with pictures setting forth fanciful legends than the other two, and so far as Canadian topography is concerned, it is not so full nor so correct as map A, although the names do not vary much. It is chiefly interesting as indicating at the junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa the town of *Tutonaguy* of Cartier's third voyage, and just beyond, westwards, is a note "Jusques icy a esté Mons. de Roberval." Roberval's expeditions are also figured on the map of 1546. Not far to the south the region of pigmies is laid down, with a drawing showing a battle between the pigmies and cranes and a note describing them and their perennial conflicts. The map is beautifully reproduced and the names are legible throughout. We note with interest that the island in the Gulf, which on Cabot's map of 1544, alone among all the maps, is called the island of St. John, is here, only six years later, *Ysle des Arènes*.

and that Prince Edward Island, as in all the Cartier maps, has not yet been separated as an island from the mainland. The general geography of this mappemonde is the same as that in the Henry II map of 1546, but it has, like the Cabot map, 1544, short notes in many places containing for the most part legendary and fabulous information.

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791. The original French, Latin, and Italian texts, with English translations and notes; illustrated by portraits, maps and facsimiles. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Vols. XI-XXXIV. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1898.

The editor of the *Jesuit Relations* and his numerous band of helpers show themselves possessed of an activity which could hardly be excelled by associates engaged in a purely commercial enterprise. It was announced in the prospectus of the work that after the first instalment had been issued, "publication would be continued thereafter at the rate of a volume each month until completed." As a matter of fact the tale for 1898 will come much nearer two volumes a month than one, if, indeed, an aggregate of twenty-four volumes for the year be not reached.* During last winter it seemed likely that this high rate of speed would only be attained at a sacrifice of the bulk which each volume should contain. The average contents of the second ten volumes fell nearly forty pages behind that of the first ten. Still this constitutes no breach of faith on the part of the publishers, for their sole undertaking was to make the standard volume consist of "about three hundred pages." Actually they have somewhat exceeded the promise which was originally given to subscribers. Concerning the technical part

* We permit these words to stand as they were written, just before the simultaneous issue of Vols. XXXIII-IV (which brings the aggregate for the year to twenty-four volumes). We do this for the sake of calling attention to the fact that the narratives of Brébeuf's death are thus excluded from our notice, though published in Vol. XXXIV.

of editing, we may observe that experience has brought the improvement which one would naturally expect. Greater pains than at first is taken with collation, and in every material respect Mr. Thwaites' work seems on a plane with the splendid series of texts which it accompanies. At present we shall discuss only the documents which appeared in 1898, avoiding minor details.

Chronologically our survey extends over twelve years, 1636-48. From the missionary standpoint no section of equal length in the whole course of Jesuit activity among the North American Indians surpasses this one in interest. Perhaps no other phase of their effort is so animated and exciting. Before 1636, the most accomplished missionaries had mastered that language difficulty which proved so great an obstacle in the path of the pioneers, both Récollet and Jesuit. Posts had been established at several points along the St. Lawrence river; a systematic campaign had been planned against the paganism of the Hurons. During the decade, 1636-1646, it was virtually demonstrated that the Hurons should remain wedded to their inherited rites and that the black robes, however successful in baptizing infants, the sick, or the aged, should never lay firm hold upon the fighting braves. Yet the dangerous task of making converts was prosecuted with unflagging ardour, and towards the end of our period the Jesuits actually invaded the Iroquois cantons also, though they were there regarded with disfavour, not merely as religious agitators, but as Frenchmen. In spite of what was wrought by Brébeuf, Jogues and the others, the Christian attack failed at all the salient points. Some measure of success attended work among the Laurentian tribes, but nothing which compensated for failure elsewhere. Lalemant, in 1647, might find a certain satisfaction in his religious victory over the peaceful Atticamegues; but they were an insignificant tribe when compared with their enemies of the Five Nations. "If God strikes us with one hand," says Lalemant, "He sustains us with the other; if He afflicts us, He consoles us; if we are persecuted by some savages at the south, we are sought after by those of the north." Still a general who has lost two

pitched battles can derive little consolation from winning a skirmish.

Let us briefly consider the means which were employed by the Jesuits for the establishment of the faith among the Indian tribes in three distinct regions; to wit, in the lower St. Lawrence valley, in the Huron country and among the Iroquois. Along the great river several stations were founded which served equally for commercial, colonial and religious purposes. After Maisonneuve had created Ville Marie in 1642, there were four French outposts in the wilderness, of superior relative importance, Tadousac, Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal. Sillery, near Quebec, and Fort Richelieu, at the mouth of the river which formed "the Iroquois path," also possessed some prominence, but they belong to a distinctly minor class. One of the elementary features of Jesuit policy was to persuade the Indians that by abandoning their roving life they might greatly improve their temporal condition. Apart from all designs at conversion it was clearly desirable that the savages should settle upon tracts of arable land, and not rove through the forest wastes in precarious quest of fish and game. Le Jeune had soon after his arrival in Canada spent a winter among the Montagnais and discovered the full misery of their condition when on the march. The chance of rendering such wretched tribes truly Christian was indeed slight until they should lead a sedentary life. Therefore the Jesuits sought to lure them towards the river bank, to instruct their children in the seminaries and to care for the sick in the hospitals. The missionaries' task was rendered the more difficult by the presence of French traders, who, bent merely on gain, willingly gave the Indians means of self-destruction.

"There is scarcely a savage, small or great, even among the girls and women, who does not enjoy intoxication, and who does not take these beverages when they can be had, purely and simply for the sake of being drunk. . . . Efforts are being made to remedy this, but it is very difficult to prevent our Frenchmen from co-operating in this dissolute conduct which may finally extinguish, if it remains unchecked, the whole nation of the Montagnais." (Le Jeune, 1637).

It was, naturally, by education that the Jesuits made their most serious attempts at reaching the Laurentian Indians. A

later chapter of the Relation from which we have just been quoting deals with the instruction of the little natives at Quebec. At first the Jesuit fathers issued only general invitations of a social character. The children were welcomed whenever they came, but teaching was not mentioned. Gradually, by a process of conciliation, they were secured as pupils and divided into bands according to their respective sexes.

"There was neither snow nor wind nor cold that prevented them from coming, sometimes from a quarter of a league, although they were not too warmly clad. But the pleasure their parents took in seeing them instructed, the applause our French gave them, and the slight desire they had to learn something new, attracted them."

The scheme of education is minutely described. Le Jeune began with the assumption that these were "poor, barbarous children who have no education whatever," and accordingly he taught them the simplest things which it was suitable that they should know. They learned "to join hands, kneel down, make the sign of the cross, stand up properly when they were questioned, answer modestly and make an obeisance." At exercises of this kind the little girls proved much more proficient than the little boys. Later on they were taught the Pater and the Credo, which were arranged "almost in rhyme" for convenience in chanting. After such brief formulas of the church had been learned by heart they were sung, older Indians also joining in the strain. Then followed catechism, a little talk upon the creed, or else a refutation of Indian beliefs. "In conclusion they all knelt to ask our Lord for grace to retain what had been taught them; for His light, to believe in Him; the strength to obey Him, and His protection against the malice of the devil." The presents given were knives, iron arrow-points, rings, awls and needles, "which they received very politely, kissing their hands and making an obeisance in the French fashion."

Two years after Le Jeune thus describes the work of his school at Quebec—namely, in 1638—he announces the erection of an establishment from which great things were expected. This was the residence of St. Joseph de Sillery, situated on the St. Lawrence four miles above Quebec. The founder, a former Knight of Malta, having become a priest, devoted his fortune to

benevolence. A little later, on the arrival of the Hospital nuns, Sillery almost rivalled Quebec in the extent of its efforts to elevate the Indians. The Algonquins were especially regarded there, and an Indian village soon grew up under the shelter of the church where the people were guarded from harm, trained to cultivate the soil, and taught the elements of religion. Concerning the coming of the Ursulines we say nothing. Their labours are so well known that the subject need not be enlarged upon here.

If the Jesuit enterprises along the St. Lawrence were, when considered in relation to probable success, the most reasonable part of their work, their determined invasion of the Huron country was the most chivalrous task which they undertook. Removed by many hundred miles from Quebec, their natural base of operations in New France, and placed altogether at the mercy of the savages, Brébeuf and his companions strenuously continued their heroic toil until the Hurons were exterminated by the Iroquois. Preaching, baptism, argument and humane ministrations formed their chief employments. Daring every danger where the least chance of winning souls offered itself, they even divided their scanty band for the sake of establishing a mission among the adjoining Tobacco Nation. Whether or not in their hearts the Huron Jesuits lost hope, no token of flagging zeal is permitted to show itself in their correspondence. Only towards the end—shortly before the catastrophe of Iroquois invasion—Brébeuf saw the imminent danger which threatened from outside attack, and warned Caraffa, the Father-General at Rome, of it. Foes from within were also waxing bold. In his letter to Caraffa, June 2, 1648, Brébeuf, adverting to both these points, says:

“On the other hand there are, altogether, many and considerable influences which not only hinder our work, but seem even to threaten the ruin of the whole mission. Some of these, indeed, are common to us with all the Hurons, especially the enemy whom we call by the name of Iroquois; they, on the one hand, close the roads and obstruct trade, and, on the other, devastate this region by frequent massacre; in short, they fill every place with fear. Other hindrances, however, are altogether peculiar to us—notably, the hatred towards us of certain infidel Hurons, which has grown to the degree that a few days ago they killed one of our domestics. They were ready to offer the same treatment to us, if opportunity occurred.”

In the case of the Huron mission the arguments which the Indians put forward as reasons why they should not become Christians are highly interesting and often amusing. Of the latter species is a story reported by Le Mercier in 1637 (Vol. XII, p. 127):

"On one occasion, a savage told the Father Superior that they were not very well pleased when we asked the sick 'where they wished to go after death, to heaven, or to hell?' 'That is not right,' said he, 'we people do not ask such questions, for we always hope that they will not die, and that they will recover their health.' Another one said, 'For my part I have no desire to go to heaven; I have no acquaintances there, and the French who are there would not care to give me anything to eat.' For the most part, they think of nothing but their stomachs, and means of prolonging this miserable life."

The same volume contains a detailed account of the tortures which an Iroquois suffered at the hands of his Huron captors. Such incidents are by no means rare in the Jesuit Relations, but this one surpasses all others in lurid devilry. If we may use an analogy taken from the Divine Comedy, it is like passing from the Inferno to "the milder shades of Purgatory" when one proceeds from the chapter of torture to that one speedily following, which is entitled "The help we have given to the sick of our village."

Among numerous other matters of moment connected with the Huron crusade, the small-pox scourge and the seminary at Quebec for training young Huron converts deserve prominent mention. Suffice it to say concerning the small-pox, that it became endemic in the region, and that the Jesuits were accused by their enemies of spreading it, as they were also accused of poisoning converts that these might sooner taste the joys of Paradise. Vol. XII of Mr. Thwaites' series contains Le Jeune's description of the Huron Seminary at Quebec while it was still in the earliest stage of development. At the Provincial's instance he had founded a school, and Brébeuf was intrusted with the duty of finding scholars. Twelve lads were selected, and were prepared to be sent down the river in charge of Father Antoine Daniel. Unfortunately, at the moment of parting the strain upon affection was too great, and eleven of them deserted, leaving only a devotee, Satouta, who professed a willingness to follow his master, even if he were taken to

France. However, when the fur-fleet reached Three Rivers the Hurons became so convinced of the advantages offered that half a dozen children were forthcoming, and, before long, the missionaries found in their charge all whom they could feed; complete outfits of new clothes, moreover, must be supplied, as the parents expected to take back with them the garments which had been worn by their sons on the way down. Calamities followed. One boy grew homesick and insisted on returning; another, after engaging in a boxing bout with one of the French, died—rather from over-eating, it is explained, than from any blows he received. Worse still, Satouta, a model of humility and patience, was seized with a slow fever. "He was purged and bled, as his companions had been, and the most assiduous care was employed to save his life, but, as our Lord wished to have him, holy baptism was conferred upon him, which soon gave him admission to heaven." In a word, the mortality was such that Le Jeune could only comfort himself by reflecting on the docility of the meagre remnant. Later on the school attained a certain degree of prosperity, but it never answered the sanguine expectations which were entertained of it at the outset.

The chief link between the Huron and Iroquois missions is that illustrious Jesuit martyr, Isaac Jogues, and during the period under review no other member of the order surpasses him in self-effacement, or vies with him in degree of physical suffering. After serving for a time among the Hurons he returned to Eastern Canada, and was captured by a party of Iroquois in August, 1642. Accompanied by three other Frenchmen and forty Hurons, he was attempting to thread the islands of Lake St. Peter when the Iroquois attacked the party from an ambush. The afflictions of those who survived the encounter verge upon the incredible, in that the mind can only with difficulty conceive how life remained to the body after such treatment. Carried by his captors from the St. Lawrence valley to that of the Hudson, Jogues finally escaped by the aid of the Dutch and reached France. Yet, although his hands had suffered mutilation and his poor frame had been racked

with torments, he returned to Canada with the fixed resolve of working among the Iroquois till death released him. In 1646 he entered the Mohawk country under favourable auspices and was decently received for a short time. Before long, however, the old feeling against him, his gospel, and his nationality, broke out afresh. Hardly any adult converts could be made, and the surreptitious baptism of infants was his main consolation until the death for which he longed came to his relief. Fortunately he was killed by a sudden blow and not by protracted torture. The most striking feature of the Relation for 1647 is an admirable character sketch of Jogues by the then Superior, Jerome Lalemant. From it a few short passages are taken for the sake of revealing the personal traits of one who through so much suffering could endure to the end.

"He was of a rather timorous temperament, which highly exalts his courage, and shows that his constancy came from above. He saw in a moment all the difficulties which might occur in a matter, and he felt the hurt naturally caused by these; this counterpoise kept him in a profound humility, and made him say that he was only a coward; and yet the Superiors who knew him depended on him as firmly as on a rock. He knew not what it was to recoil in difficulties; this word 'go' was enough for him,—there is no monster, there is no demon that he would not have confronted with that word. . . . Never did he feel, in the midst of his sufferings, or in the greatest cruelties of those treacherous people, any aversion against them. He looked at them with an eye of compassion as a mother looks at a child of hers stricken with a raging disease; at other times he regarded them as rods which our Lord employed for punishing his crimes. . . . One cannot express the care that he took to preserve his heart in purity; the one to whom he most intimately communicated his thoughts . . . asserts, to the glory of our Lord, that his greatest offences had been some feelings of complacency which he had felt at the sight of death, believing himself by this means delivered from the sufferings of this life."

The Jesuit Relations for 1636-48 are indispensable to a knowledge of colonial progress, both political and economic, and to a knowledge of Indian character as it was developed by contact with Europeans. But into the numerous questions which are comprised under these categories, it is impossible that we should now enter. We have fixed our attention upon strictly missionary aspects because to the writers of the Relations political and ethnological description was an incidental, and not in any sense an ultimate, consideration. Regarded as deeds of heroism the acts of the Jesuits must command universal

admiration from Catholics and Protestants alike, but the religious enthusiasm which in their case proved a spiritual stimulus more potent than that of *aqua vitæ* in its action on the human body, was responsible for some singular freaks. Surely the leaders of forlorn hopes should not be judged by commonplace and grudging standards, yet as representing a typical ideal of life the Jesuit missionaries are open to a charge of exaggeration. We shall close by citing a single instance of unnatural abasement, because it has impressed us strongly, not because we are animated by a spirit of detraction. It will be remembered that Enemond Massé came to Acadia in 1611 with Pierre Biard, was a member of the colony of St. Sauveur on Mount Desert Island, and, after Argall's destruction of that settlement, passed through some singular adventures before reaching France. Returning after an interval to the Laurentian part of Canada, he became a faithful though minor agent in the hands of his order, and died at St. Joseph aged seventy-two years. The set of rules which he drew up for the conduct of his life, and which was found only after his death, forms one of the most remarkable passages yet published in this work. The eighth and last of them runs in this wise: "Si tu laisses sortir de ta bouche quelque parole qui choque tant soit peu la charité, tu ramasseras secrettement avec ta langue les crachas et les flegmes sortis de la bouche d'autrui." Surely this rule of conduct represents a violent departure of the pendulum from its normal course.

Guerre du Canada, 1756-1760, Montcalm et Lévis, par l'Abbé H. R. Casgrain, Docteur és Lettres, Professeur à l'Université de Québec, Lauriat de l'Académie Française. Tours: Alfred Mame et Fils, 1898. Pp. 392.

This work of the Abbé Casgrain was originally published in Quebec in 1891, six years after the appearance (in 1885) of Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe." The Abbé Casgrain had, since Parkman wrote, discovered the Lévis papers in France. (For an account of these documents see Volume I of this

Review, p. 58). Lévis had come into possession of a great mass of material relating to the Seven Years' war in Canada, including journals and many letters of Montcalm, Vaudreuil, Bigot, Bourlamaque, Bougainville and others prominent in the struggle. He had a genius for collecting papers of this kind, and in his later years, when he was a marshal of France and had been created hereditary duke, he no doubt spent much time over them. They were carefully preserved, and are at the present time in the possession of his descendant the Comte Raymonde de Nicolay. The Comte de Nicolay granted the Abbé Casgrain free use of the papers, and since "Montcalm et Lévis" first appeared they, in their entirety, have been given to the world, at the cost of the Quebec Government. It will easily be seen that the Abbé had the use of much material unknown to Parkman. The peculiar value of his narrative is that it admits us to the inmost details of the French campaign, and some of the verdicts of history regarding the chief actors must be revised.

The Abbé is convinced that Lévis, Montcalm's second in command, is the real hero of the war in Canada. It must be admitted that Montcalm himself does not appear to advantage in these pages. He has scholarly tastes, and reads German and Greek in his leisure hours. He is witty, vivacious and observant. His journal and letters show him in a favourable literary light. He has an ear for peculiarities of speech ;

"J'ai observé que les paysans canadiens parlent très bien français ; et comme sans doute ils sont plus accoutumés à aller par eau que par terre, ils emploient volontiers les expressions prises de la marine." (p. 23.)

He describes the Indians as very fond of him, and notes their singular vanity ;

"Ce sont de vilains messieurs, même en sortant de leur toilette, où ils passent leur vie. Vous ne le croiriez pas, mais les hommes portent toujours avec le casse-tête et le fusil un miroir à la guerre, pour se bien barbouiller de diverses couleurs, arranger leurs plumes sur la tête, leurs pendeloques aux oreilles et aux narines." (p. 36.)

With these high mental capacities Montcalm was yet a very defective leader. He had the southern temperament. He was immensely pleased with his position as military chief in Canada ; he was vain, and he was jealous of his own dignity. The Governor Vaudreuil was invested with the supreme military authority, although Montcalm was charged with the

actual leadership. Between the two a bitter feud soon arose. No doubt Vaudreuil was a narrow-minded official, as vain as his rival. His moral character, however, was better than that of Montcalm, and the fact that Vaudreuil worked in entire harmony with Montcalm's successor, Lévis, a stronger man than Montcalm, seems to indicate that the earlier disputes were due as much to Montcalm's as to Vaudreuil's defects. Montcalm hated Canada, and his one desire was to get out of the country as soon as possible. His letters to his family are full of tender affection. For ten months at a time he was without news from France: then Bougainville brought early in 1759 the intelligence that one of his two daughters was dead. Which daughter it was he never knew. There is little wonder, with this strain upon him, that he was irritable in his relations with Vaudreuil. By his own officers he was greatly beloved.

Lévis appears always to advantage in the Abbé Casgrain's pages, except in his relapses from the moral code. He was on good terms with both Vaudreuil and Montcalm. He was brave, as was Montcalm, and so dashing in his courage that his opponents called him "the new Don Quixote:" yet he was a cautious, far-seeing leader.

"Montcalm et Lévis avaient de commun de grandes qualités militaires, une bravoure à toute épreuve, une science et une expérience consommée dans l'art de la guerre: mais Lévis avait plus de sûreté dans le coup d'œil, plus de largeur dans les vues, plus de sang-froid et de fermeté dans l'action." (p. 384.)

Of the officers on the French side, Bougainville, later a famous navigator, and a senator of France under Napoleon, meets with severe strictures in this volume. These aroused the wrath of a descendant of Bougainville, M. René de Kerallain, who attacked the Abbé in vehement terms in 1895 in the *Revue Historique*. (See Volume I of this Review, p. 64.)

The great villain of the sordid tragedy enacted in New France is, of course, the Intendant Bigot. This official belonged to a distinguished family of southern France. He had influence at Court, and was able to retain his office in Canada even though his character was more than suspect. One is disposed to doubt the stories of luxurious living, in connection with so small a provincial city as was Quebec. Yet Montcalm

himself shows that Quebec was in very truth a colonial Versailles.

"M. Bigot, intendant, m'a donné à diner avec quarante personnes. La magnificence et la bonne chère annoncent que la place est bonne, qu'il s'en fait honneur, et un habitant de Paris aurait été surpris de la profusion de bonnes choses en tout genre" (p. 24). "M. l'intendant, écrit Montcalm, y a tenu un très grand état et a donné deux très beaux bals, ou j'ai vu plus de quatre-vingts dames ou demoiselles très aimables, et très bien mises. Québec m'a paru une ville d'un fort bon ton; je ne crois pas que dans la France il y en ait plus d'une douzaine au-dessus de Québec pour la société; car d'ailleurs, il n'y a pas plus de douze mille âmes" (p. 76).

The colonial officials were miserably paid and money for such luxury could not be gained honestly by them. Bigot, in fact, set himself deliberately at work to grow rich in Canada, and students of this period are well aware of the methods he adopted. The service was filled with his corrupt associates. Certificates of expenditure were fraudulently raised in amount. Supplies controlled by Bigot were sold to the king at exorbitant prices. When the war became acute, an embargo was laid on all the supplies in the country. The inhabitants were forced to sell their grain to Bigot for paper money which was never redeemed. Food became ever scarcer. At Quebec, early in 1759, the women took action against Bigot's measures in a manner which reminds us of the insurrection of women in 1789, in Paris. Yet, while the people were starving, scenes of gross festivity were not infrequent. Montcalm describes vividly the mania for gambling at Quebec, which, indeed, he ought to have checked. Bigot himself lost at one time two hundred thousand francs, and the play was more reckless than even that at Versailles.

Of the French system of administration in Canada, it is hardly possible to speak too severely. In ordinary times the three palaces at Quebec represented three powers almost independent of each other—the Governor, the Intendant, and the Bishop. In war appeared a fourth element—the French officers and French troops, despising the colonists, caring nothing for the country, and disapproving of the guerilla methods of warfare adopted by the Canadian militia. The two forces never worked harmoniously. There was incessant recrimination. To add to these miseries was the want of support from

France. The court of Versailles was wholly occupied with the European struggle, and brave men were obliged to fight in Canada for a failing cause, with little hope of succour. In discussing military events, the Abbé Casgrain is frankly on the side of the Canadian militia. To him they are the real heroes of the war. The English assailants of Canada were as numerous as the entire French population of the country, including men, women and children. The warfare was often savage to the last degree. It seems scarcely possible that an interval of little more than one hundred years separates us from the time when at Montreal Indians feasted off human heads, and boiled and ate English prisoners.

The copious extracts which the Abbé Casgrain gives from his authorities, while they mar the unity of his work, bring us into direct touch with the actors in this drama. Students of manners will find much that is of interest in this volume and the merits of the work as a whole cannot be doubted. The Abbé does not for a moment conceal his French sympathies, yet, with one exception, he shows no bitterness against the leaders on the English side. The exception is Amherst, whom he cannot forgive for refusing the honours of war to the French troops who surrendered at Montreal in 1760. He points out that the struggle for Canada in 1759 involved issues vaster than are usually suspected. The New France of that day included the whole great west, extending southward to the Gulf of Mexico. As a French-Canadian, he rejoices that the French have retained their identity in Canada. He thinks, indeed, that New France is still to be found on the banks of the St. Lawrence, while New England has disappeared.

“Devenus indépendants, les États-Unis étonneront l'univers par leur rapide accroissement. Dans un siècle ils formeront un peuple de cinquante millions d'hommes. Vous me demanderez sans doute comment s'accomplira ce prodige. Il viendra de toutes les parties de l'Europe un tel flot d'émigration, que les invasions de barbares peuvent seules en donner une idée. Il vous est facile d'en prévoir la conséquence. Cette invasion pacifique sera plus funeste aux colons primitifs des États-Unis, que ne le sera pour les Canadiens la conquête violente de la Nouvelle-France. À la fin du XIX^e siècle, les descendants des Pilgrim Fathers, c'est à dire vos colons les plus intelligents et les plus actifs, auront à peu près disparu de la Nouvelle Angleterre. Ils auront été remplacés par d'autres races qui donneront au pays une toute autre physionomie, si bien que si les Elders

du temps de Cotton Mather revenaient sur la terre, ils ne retrouveraient plus rien des mœurs, des usages, de la religion d'autrefois. Il en sera tout autrement des Canadiens. Délaisés par la France dans un état de ruine inconcevable, et livrés à un vainqueur qui emploiera sa toute-puissance à les anéantir comme race, ils survivront à tout. Sans immigration étrangère, par le seul développement de leurs familles, ils accroîtront si rapidement, qu'à la fin du siècle prochain, ils formeront un peuple homogène de plus de deux millions, uni comme un seul homme, et resté si français, qu'un de leurs poètes pourra dire en toute vérité :

“ ‘ Nous avons conservé le brillant héritage
Légué par nos aïeux, pur de tout alliage,
Sans jamais rien laisser aux ronces du chemin. ’ ” (p. 387).

While there are some interesting illustrations in the book, as works of art they can hardly be commended. The fanciful pictures of Wolfe at the Anse du Foulon and of the death of Montcalm, serve only to mislead the reader.

The Neutrality of the American Lakes and Anglo-American Relations, by James Morton Callahan. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XVI, Nos. 1-4.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1898. Pp. 200.

The subject of this essay was suggested by the well-known economist, Edward Atkinson, of Boston, who described the agreement of 1817 respecting the neutrality of the lakes as “the greatest step in progress towards the maintenance of peace, and without precedent in history.” Nearly half a century ago the *London Times* had also declared that it was far in advance of the spirit of the age, and that “no wiser act was ever agreed upon between two nations than the limitation of the naval force on the lakes.” These opinions are doubly interesting at the present time, when it is stated that great efforts are being made to have the agreement abrogated.

Dr. Callahan has spent much time in collecting the necessary material, and the result of his researches is a thoroughly careful and scholarly piece of work. He is an American, and writes for American readers, but a strenuous effort to be strictly candid and impartial is everywhere evident. A preliminary chapter discusses the American “peace policy.” Dr. Callahan then

surveys the conditions which led to the conclusion of the treaty of 1793, and the adoption of the lake boundary between the United States and Canada. He asserts that the British commissioner, Oswald, was not only prepared to abandon control of the lakes to the United States, but to cede the whole of Canada to the new-born republic. The growth of commerce upon the lakes, and the construction of rival fleets during the struggle for supremacy in the war of 1812-1815, which still remained undecided when peace was concluded, are next described. It is amazing to find Gouverneur Morris writing with splendid audacity on 17th October, 1814, after all attempts at the conquest of Canada had signally failed, "If they [the British] had there forty ships of the line and a dozen Gibralters we could with great ease take Canada." That much decried statesman, Lord Castlereagh, appears to have been one of the first to suggest an agreement for disarmament on the lakes. In an unused draft of instructions for the British commissioners at Ghent, quoted by Dr. Callahan, the following passage occurs:

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actual leadership. Between the two a bitter feud soon arose. No doubt Vaudreuil was a narrow-minded official, as vain as his rival. His moral character, however, was better than that of Montcalm, and the fact that Vaudreuil worked in entire harmony with Montcalm's successor, Lévis, a stronger man than Montcalm, seems to indicate that the earlier disputes were due as much to Montcalm's as to Vaudreuil's defects. Montcalm hated Canada, and his one desire was to get out of the country as soon as possible. His letters to his family are full of tender affection. For ten months at a time he was without news from France; then Bougainville brought early in 1759 the intelligence that one of his two daughters was dead. Which daughter it was he never knew. There is little wonder, with this strain upon him, that he was irritable in his relations with Vaudreuil. By his own officers he was greatly beloved.

Lévis appears always to advantage in the Abbé Casgrain's pages, except in his relapses from the moral code. He was on good terms with both Vaudreuil and Montcalm. He was brave, as was Montcalm, and so dashing in his courage that his opponents called him "the new Don Quixote;" yet he was a cautious, far-seeing leader.

"Montcalm et Lévis avaient de commun de grandes qualités militaires, une bravoure à toute épreuve, une science et une expérience consommée dans l'art de la guerre : mais Lévis avait plus de sûreté dans le coup d'oeil, plus de largeur dans les vues, plus de sang-froid et de fermeté dans l'action." (p. 384.)

Of the officers on the French side, Bougainville, later a famous navigator, and a senator of France under Napoleon, meets with severe strictures in this volume. These aroused the wrath of a descendant of Bougainville, M. René de Kerallain, who attacked the Abbé in vehement terms in 1895 in the *Revue Historique*. (See Volume I of this Review, p. 64.)

The great villain of the sordid tragedy enacted in New France is, of course, the Intendant Bigot. This official belonged to a distinguished family of southern France. He had influence at Court, and was able to retain his office in Canada even though his character was more than suspect. One is disposed to doubt the stories of luxurious living, in connection with so small a provincial city as was Quebec. Yet Montcalm

himself shows that Quebec was in very truth a colonial Versailles.

"M. Bigot, intendant, m'a donné à diner avec quarante personnes. La magnificence et la bonne chère annoncent que la place est bonne, qu'il s'en fait honneur, et un habitant de Paris aurait été surpris de la profusion de bonnes choses en tout genre" (p. 24). "M. l'intendant, écrit Montcalm, y a tenu un très grand état et a donné deux très beaux bals, ou j'ai vu plus de quatre-vingts dames ou demoiselles très aimables, et très bien mises. Québec m'a paru une ville d'un fort bon ton; je ne crois pas que dans la France il y en ait plus d'une douzaine au-dessus de Québec pour la société; car d'ailleurs, il n'y a pas plus de douze mille âmes" (p. 76).

The colonial officials were miserably paid and money for such luxury could not be gained honestly by them. Bigot, in fact, set himself deliberately at work to grow rich in Canada, and students of this period are well aware of the methods he adopted. The service was filled with his corrupt associates. Certificates of expenditure were fraudulently raised in amount. Supplies controlled by Bigot were sold to the king at exorbitant prices. When the war became acute, an embargo was laid on all the supplies in the country. The inhabitants were forced to sell their grain to Bigot for paper money which was never redeemed. Food became ever scarcer. At Quebec, early in 1759, the women took action against Bigot's measures in a manner which reminds us of the insurrection of women in 1789, in Paris. Yet, while the people were starving, scenes of gross festivity were not infrequent. Montcalm describes vividly the mania for gambling at Quebec, which, indeed, he ought to have checked. Bigot himself lost at one time two hundred thousand francs, and the play was more reckless than even that at Versailles.

Of the French system of administration in Canada, it is hardly possible to speak too severely. In ordinary times the three palaces at Quebec represented three powers almost independent of each other—the Governor, the Intendant, and the Bishop. In war appeared a fourth element—the French officers and French troops, despising the colonists, caring nothing for the country, and disapproving of the guerilla methods of warfare adopted by the Canadian militia. The two forces never worked harmoniously. There was incessant recrimination. To add to these miseries was the want of support from

France. The court of Versailles was wholly occupied with the European struggle, and brave men were obliged to fight in Canada for a failing cause, with little hope of succour. In discussing military events, the Abbé Casgrain is frankly on the side of the Canadian militia. To him they are the real heroes of the war. The English assailants of Canada were as numerous as the entire French population of the country, including men, women and children. The warfare was often savage to the last degree. It seems scarcely possible that an interval of little more than one hundred years separates us from the time when at Montreal Indians feasted off human heads, and boiled and ate English prisoners.

The copious extracts which the Abbé Casgrain gives from his authorities, while they mar the unity of his work, bring us into direct touch with the actors in this drama. Students of manners will find much that is of interest in this volume and the merits of the work as a whole cannot be doubted. The Abbé does not for a moment conceal his French sympathies, yet, with one exception, he shows no bitterness against the leaders on the English side. The exception is Amherst, whom he cannot forgive for refusing the honours of war to the French troops who surrendered at Montreal in 1760. He points out that the struggle for Canada in 1759 involved issues vaster than are usually suspected. The New France of that day included the whole great west, extending southward to the Gulf of Mexico. As a French-Canadian, he rejoices that the French have retained their identity in Canada. He thinks, indeed, that New France is still to be found on the banks of the St. Lawrence, while New England has disappeared.

“Devenus indépendants, les États-Unis étonneront l'univers par leur rapide accroissement. Dans un siècle ils formeront un peuple de cinquante millions d'hommes. Vous me demanderez sans doute comment s'accomplira ce prodige. Il viendra de toutes les parties de l'Europe un tel flot d'émigration, que les invasions de barbares peuvent seules en donner une idée. Il vous est facile d'en prévoir la conséquence. Cette invasion pacifique sera plus funeste aux colons primitifs des États-Unis, que ne le sera pour les Canadiens la conquête violente de la Nouvelle-France. À la fin du XIX^e siècle, les descendants des Pilgrim Fathers, c'est à dire vos colons les plus intelligents et les plus actifs, auront à peu près disparu de la Nouvelle Angleterre. Ils auront été remplacés par d'autres races qui donneront au pays une toute autre physionomie, si bien que si les Elders

du temps de Cotton Mather revenaient sur la terre, ils ne retrouveraient plus rien des mœurs, des usages, de la religion d'autrefois. Il en sera tout autrement des Canadiens. Délaiés par la France dans un état de ruine inconcevable, et livrés à un vainqueur qui emploiera sa toute-puissance à les anéantir comme race, ils survivront à tout. Sans immigration étrangère, par le seul développement de leurs familles, ils accroîtront si rapidement, qu'à la fin du siècle prochain, ils formeront un peuple homogène de plus de deux millions, uni comme un seul homme, et resté si français, qu'un de leurs poètes pourra dire en toute vérité :

“ ‘ Nous avons conservé le brillant héritage
Légué par nos aïeux, pur de tout alliage,
Sans jamais rien laisser aux ronces du chemin. ’ ” (p. 387).

While there are some interesting illustrations in the book, as works of art they can hardly be commended. The fanciful pictures of Wolfe at the Anse du Foulon and of the death of Montcalm, serve only to mislead the reader.

The Neutrality of the American Lakes and Anglo-American Relations, by James Morton Callahan. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XVI, Nos. 1-4.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1898. Pp. 200.

The subject of this essay was suggested by the well-known economist, Edward Atkinson, of Boston, who described the agreement of 1817 respecting the neutrality of the lakes as “the greatest step in progress towards the maintenance of peace, and without precedent in history.” Nearly half a century ago the *London Times* had also declared that it was far in advance of the spirit of the age, and that “no wiser act was ever agreed upon between two nations than the limitation of the naval force on the lakes.” These opinions are doubly interesting at the present time, when it is stated that great efforts are being made to have the agreement abrogated.

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value. The book however shows little insight. There is nothing here to throw light upon the working of democratic institutions in Canada, nothing to indicate the deeper questions, racial, territorial, social and political, that a seeing eye at Ottawa should be aware of. The historical chapters are, however, admirable. The site of Ottawa has a respectable antiquity in written history. Nearly three hundred years ago Champlain visited it and found the adjoining Chaudière Falls then associated with superstitious fears on the part of the natives. Sir James Edgar tells effectively the legend of Cadieux, but he should not have accepted the French-Canadian song "*La Complainte de Cadieux*" as the genuine work of the voyageur written in verse while death slowly overtook him. He is upon safer ground when he describes the really striking career of Philemon Wright. This man, who had fought at Bunker Hill against the British, made his way with a party from Boston to the Ottawa river in 1799. He founded the town of Hull across the river from Ottawa and succeeded in amassing a great fortune. Although he had lived in the United States for twenty-five years after the break with Great Britain, and had helped to establish the Republic, he speaks of his delight at being in Canada on "the sweet ground which belongs to our ancient Sovereign." Sir James Edgar is perhaps a little too anxious to prove that everything in regard to Canada is proceeding favourably, but an excess of patriotism will be easily pardoned. He complains that Canada was not recognized as a nation by Mr. Blain in 1890 and was not invited to send a representative to the conference of representatives of the American nations held then at Washington. That Canada is not a nation and has no diplomatic service is a result of the tie with the mother country. Nothing probably would aid the relations between Canada and the United States more than closer diplomatic intercourse. Probably in the near future some attempt will be made to give Canada, on the American continent at any rate, the status of a nation, with representatives of her own in the leading American capitals.

Dr. Douglas Brymner's *Report on Canadian Archives for 1897* (Ottawa: Dawson, 1898) chronicles the recent disastrous fire which has caused the temporary removal of the Archives to another building. In the old quarters the Archives were very shabbily housed, and it is to be hoped that better provision will now be made for them. The present volume is concerned mainly with the events of the important decade after the war of 1812. The question of the union of Upper and Lower Canada was much debated. Upper Canada feared being cut off from free communication with the sea, and some of the petitions from that province urge, on this ground, the necessity of union. From both provinces, however, came protests against union, on the ground of differences of race, education, and religion. The movement was temporarily checked, to be finally successful only after armed rebellion. The founding of McGill University is chronicled in this Report. Mr. James McGill, a successful merchant of Montreal, dying in 1813, left means to found a college. Attempts were made to induce the Government to supplement Mr. McGill's benefactions by a grant from the forfeited Jesuit estates. In the end this project was defeated, but Mr. W. Molson added to Mr. McGill's gift, and the result was the establishment, free from any State control, of McGill University, which has so splendid a record of generosity by private benefactors. In this Report we have what will probably be looked upon as the authentic story of the melancholy death, in 1819, of the Duke of Richmond, Governor of Canada. The writer is a Mr. Charles Cambridge, who was in Canada at the time, but returned to Ireland immediately after the Duke's death. He writes to Lord Bathurst from Ireland on arrival. The Duke had lifted up a pet dog to lick a wound in his chin caused by shaving, and the animal had bitten him. Five months afterwards, when the Duke was in the wilds of Upper Canada, symptoms of hydrophobia appeared. One day in drinking wine at table, he suddenly turned from it with abhorrence. Shortly after, going through the forest, he heard the bark of a dog and ran off so rapidly that his attendants could scarcely follow him. He was ultimately overtaken in a barn, and

removed to a miserable hovel where he died. In his paroxysms he was heard to say, "For shame, Richmond, shame, Charles Lennox, bear your sufferings like a man." The Report contains an estimate of the character of Gourlay, a leader in the revolt against the Government of Upper Canada in 1809, who appears to have been an eccentric and impracticable Scotchman, with amazing confidence in his own powers. Perhaps the feature of widest interest in the Report is the reproduction of a Cabot map dated 1544, discovered by Von Martins, and deposited in the National Library at Paris in 1843. This aspect of the Report is discussed in the review of Cabot literature in this volume. Even in a grave government report one sometimes gets a gleam of humour. Dr. Brymner says that many inquiries have reached him respecting the uniforms worn by the Canadian militia in the war of 1812. He now quotes contemporary evidence to this effect: "Some had red coats with blue facings, some had green coats with red facings, but most had no coats at all"—and the question is at last settled.

The Abbé Hospice Verreau has a paper in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada on *Jacques Cartier—questions de Lois et Coutumes maritimes*. The paper is in the main a discussion of the significance of certain words in the sixteenth century compared with their present meaning. The word "Captain" (*Cappitaine*), used now of naval and military officers alike, in the sixteenth century had mainly a military significance. When, therefore, Jacques Cartier was appointed Captain in New France, the Abbé Verreau thinks it must have been for other than seamanlike qualities as a leader. He was in fact entrusted with the work of government, of dealing with the natives, etc. The term "pilot" (*pillotte*) in those days implied in some degree a man of science versed in astronomy and cartography. There were very few possessing this title. At a later time, when maps and charts were more accurate, fewer demands were made upon the knowledge of the pilot and his status declined. In a narrative of the first voyage of Cartier, the term *compagnons* is used, and the Abbé Verreau thinks

that this designated the sailors, who in those days expected to be consulted by the leaders in regard to important changes of plan. The Abbé's study calls attention to what is too often neglected in historical inquiries, the changing significance of words.

Although Champlain, the founder of Quebec, lived nearly three centuries ago, only in 1898 has a public monument been erected to him in that city. To mark the occasion, the Abbé H. R. Casgrain publishes *Champlain, sa Vie et son Caractère* (Quebec: Demers, 1898), a chapter from an unpublished work on "Les Origines du Canada." It is to be hoped that before long the whole work will be given to the public. This sketch of Champlain is admirable both in style and in its discriminating estimate of the work of a hero in Canadian history. The end of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century saw a revival of religious enthusiasm in France that can be compared only to the crusading movement of the Middle Ages. Champlain comes to America with the avowed purpose of winning souls to the glory of God. Compared with this high end, to capture fortresses, to win battles, to conquer a country are, he says, to him as nothing. De Chastes takes up in his declining years work for Canada in the spirit of a religious enthusiast. Hébert, the first feudal chieftain in Canada to cultivate the soil, said to his family on his death-bed: "I die content, since our Lord has deigned to let me see converted savages die before me. I have crossed the sea for their succour more than for anything else, and if God pleased I would gladly perish to secure their conversion. I beseech you, love them as I have loved them; help them as much as you are able. God will recompense you in Paradise." In this spirit was founded the New France of Champlain, and it is this spirit to-day that animates the French-Canadian patriot. In the Abbé Casgrain's estimate, Champlain was truly a remarkable man. He was a keen observer whose eye nothing escaped, and although he had a tendency to believe in the marvellous, in birds without feet, in dragons, etc., he yet possessed insight and discrimination. He was the first foreigner to make his way

into and describe the interior of Mexico, which Spain's jealous policy had closed to all outsiders, and more than two hundred years before the ill-fated Panama Canal entered the sphere of practical politics he described the need and value of such a work. He was one of the pioneers in the French colony of Acadia. Turning to the St. Lawrence route, he was the first known European to penetrate to the great lakes of the interior. His courage and resolution never failed. No one, as far as known, had to the time of his death crossed the Atlantic so frequently as he. He passed to and fro in tiny ships sometimes of not more than twelve tons. On his first voyage up the St. Lawrence, as his small craft rounded the west point of what is now the Island of Orleans, one of the natives who accompanied him, pointing to the high promontory in front, cried "Quebec!" It is the first time that the name appears, and at this point, of the importance of which the natives were already apprised, Champlain determined to build his capital. From Quebec for more than one hundred and fifty years the French settlements stretching from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico were administered. Quarrels between Catholics and Calvinists soon caused the expulsion of the latter from the country. France continued her work in the old crusading spirit. "Priests, soldiers, *religieux*, peasants . . . go to begin again in the west the work of the crusades. Their route will be slow, painful, and often sprinkled with their blood; but they will ever advance till they have conquered in America a double heritage, for both France and the Church." This, according to the Abbé Casgrain, was the destined work of France. It was Champlain, not Jacques Cartier, who nobly laid its foundations, and this little volume is a worthy, though far too brief, memorial of a noble-hearted man.

Mr. Arthur G. Doughty occupies a couple of pages in the September issue of the Canadian Magazine with a description of the new Champlain monument at Quebec, and a brief summary of the chief events of the explorer's career. The article is illustrated with a view of the monument and an interesting plan of the fort and chateau Saint-Louis in 1798.

M. Benjamin Sulte discusses, in a paper read before the Royal Society of Canada, *La Guerre des Iroquois, 1600-1653*. M. Sulte thinks that too much has been made of what some French-Canadian writers call "the heroic period" of Canadian history, the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century—the period of martyrdoms and of Indian massacre. True, there were devoted missionaries then, but the policy of the home government was extremely feeble, and he thinks that the European population in Canada in 1653 cannot have been more than six hundred and seventy-five. He explains the Iroquois wars against the French as part of a far-reaching plan of these Indians to dominate North America. In culture, there was a wide gulf between them and the Algonquins originally inhabiting the present province of Quebec. The Algonquins were migratory savages; the Iroquois had efficient political administration, well-built villages and skilful agriculture. They lived in comfort, and were in reality half civilized. Originally, the Hurons and the Iroquois were of the same family, M. Sulte thinks, and on the same level of culture; but there was deadly warfare between them at the beginning of the seventeenth century. From this warfare the French could not hold aloof. The Iroquois were determined not only to destroy the Hurons, but also to check the advance of the Europeans. Their neighbours, the Dutch settlers in New York, informed them of the course of events in Europe. It was the period of the Thirty Years' War, followed by the civil war of the Fronde in France. The Iroquois were told by the Dutch, and believed, that France was a decaying power. Their aim was to cut off communication between the French and their allies, the Hurons, in the interior, and in this they were for a time only too successful. The French Government, M. Sulte thinks, could have checked the Iroquois permanently with a comparatively small force, but disturbed conditions at home prevented Richelieu and others from giving the necessary attention to Canada. The result was that agricultural settlements in Canada were for the time impossible, and the growth of New France was very slow.

M. Benjamin Sulte, in the same volume of Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, republishes extracts from the letters of *La Mère Marie de l'Incarnation*. Mother Mary was one of the first of the Ursuline nuns to live in Canada. Her letters are admirable both as descriptions of contemporary life in a Canadian mission and as giving the religious experiences of a truly devout woman. M. Sulte now prints some of the descriptive portions of these letters, which are of great value for the early history of Canada. The Canadian mission was entirely dependent upon succours from France. The scale of expenditure on the part of the Ursulines must have been considerable. They built a large stone house, and they kept apparently ten artisans, brought from France and indentured for a term of years. Mother Mary narrates that she wrote two hundred letters for one post. Many of these were intended to secure help for the work in Canada. She is the steadfast friend of the Indians. Their manners are defective, they are excitable, sometimes interrupting the reverend preacher to declare their own feelings. They love drink. A single draught of brandy intoxicated them, and Mother Mary says that the cause of this easy intoxication was their eating only unseasoned food and having no salt. There were, she admits, bad as well as good among them, as among the French; but she admires their docility and their extreme conscientiousness in regard to confession. Mother Mary reproaches herself with spending too much time in the study of the Indian language, of which she was passionately fond. The biting cold in Canada distresses the good Mother, because the nuns spend their time over the fire to the neglect of their daily duties. At service, priests were in danger of having their fingers and ears frozen. M. Sulte gives some promise of continuing the selections from these letters.

Henri de Bernières, Premier Curé de Québec, by the Abbé A. Gosselin (Evreux: Imprimerie de l'Eure, 1896) should have received earlier notice. With prodigious searching of records the author has told all that is known about this gentle, high-bred, devout, but, it must be added, somewhat weak and ineffec-

tive pioneer in Canada. He lived at Quebec forty-one years, and the place in his time passed from a missionary outpost to the semblance of a European town. In 1659, when he arrived with the first bishop, Laval, there were already four substantial religious edifices for a population of about seven hundred. To the author's ecclesiastical mind nothing is unimportant that relates to the Church, and he describes in great detail the building of the first presbytery at Quebec and of the parish church, the founding of the seminary for the education of priests (1663) and of the "Petite Séminaire" (1668) for that of boys. The latter illustrates the difference between English and French methods in dealing with aborigines. Eight French and six Indian boys were the first pupils and they were apparently taught side by side on equal terms. In 1663 there was a succession of earthquakes, lasting for six months. At the time the bishop, Laval, was waging war against the trade in brandy, which was destroying the Indians. His sympathizers frankly said that the earthquake was Heaven's witness in support of his cause. Many conversions followed, especially among the savages. There were processions, pilgrimages, intercessions, and the priests were kept busy at the confessional night and day. By his official position, the Curé of Quebec and head of the Seminary had a share in the politics of the time, but he lacked vigour. The Jesuits, whose political activity our author condemns, were masters of the situation. Bernières was from the famous Hermitage at Caen and represented interests somewhat opposed to the Jesuits. With an apparent harmony there were deep divisions in the councils of the Church, which are not concealed in this volume.

In *Les Deux Abbés de Fénelon* (Lévis; Roy, 1898), the Reverend Abbé H. A. Verreau discusses primarily the opinion long entertained that the famous Archbishop of Cambrai came to Canada, and shows that it was not the Archbishop but an elder half-brother, who worked as a pioneer missionary on the northern shores of Lake Ontario, and subsequently became involved in a violent controversy with the Governor, Frontenac.

Two abbés, Fénelon and a companion, the Abbé Trouvé, were sent to Canada really to check Jesuit supremacy in the mission field. They worked among the Iroquois, who were by this time masters of the north shore of Lake Ontario. It was at Montreal, however, that Fénelon attracted most attention. He took high ground in regard to his immunity as a priest from civil authority, and was finally by Frontenac's influence sent back summarily to France. The controversy is not edifying. Modern French-Canadian ecclesiastical writers like to dwell upon it, because the issues which it involved are, from their standpoint, not yet dead.

M. J. Edmond Roy, in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada for 1897, corrects many errors into which historians have fallen regarding *Claude-Charles Leroy de la Potherie*, appointed Comptroller-General of Marine and Fortifications in Canada in 1698, and author of *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*. La Potherie's first experience of America was gained in an expedition to Hudson's Bay, under Iberville, in 1697. On their way they ravaged the English settlements of Newfoundland, killed two hundred people and made seven hundred prisoners. In Hudson's Bay they were entirely successful, and returned to France in the same year, La Potherie vowing that he would never again venture into "the most frightful country in the world." Nevertheless in 1698 he became an official in Canada, and as his correspondence here published shows, was a stiff, fastidious, almost over-scrupulous administrator. There is little that is noteworthy in his career. He remained in Canada about three years, and his book appeared first in the year 1716. It is rather an anecdotal book of travel than a history. He describes the French settlements ranged along the river St. Lawrence, and with some insight estimates French civilization in Canada. He was struck with the polished manners of Quebec; the merchants there were often of noble birth, and the wives of the officers helped to make a pleasant and cultivated society. The ladies of Quebec looked with some suspicion upon those of Montreal, whose manners they thought a little too free. When navigation closed in the autumn Quebec was indeed a melancholy place.

"Le temps quand la commerce roule le plus à Québec, dit-il, est Août, Septembre et Octobre. Alors les vaisseaux arrivent de France et il se fait une foire dans la basse-ville. Sur la fin d'Octobre les habitants viennent y faire leurs emplettes. Chacun essaye de régler ses affaires avant la partance des vaisseaux. En Novembre la rade se trouve tout à coup sans vaisseaux. Rien de plus triste. Tout est mort et tous ne songent qu' à faire leurs provisions d'hiver."

It is interesting to note that as early as 1698 La Potherie saw that Montreal must be the commercial capital of Canada. It was even then the centre of trade, and he thought ought to be the political capital too. He notes that the French-Canadians were peculiarly fond of dancing, a trait still so prominent among them that in some dioceses the bishops have forbidden the practice. La Potherie is the first to tell the remarkable story of Mademoiselle de Verchères, a girl of fourteen, who alone for two days defended a fort against a band of Iroquois. Through him the brave girl received a pension from the Comtesse de Pontchartraine. During his short stay in Canada he made a study of the natives, and he devotes one of his four volumes to them. An Indian chief dying at Quebec was told the story of the crucifixion of Jesus by the Jews. "If I had been there," said the dying man, "I should have avenged His death; I should have scalped His enemies." It will be remembered that similar stories are told of European barbarians, the Frankish chief Clovis for instance.

The character of the narrative in M. Tassé's *Voltaire, Madame de Pompadour et quelques arpents de neige* (Lévis: Roy, 1898) might best be expressed by a series of exclamation marks. The indignation of the author against the unhappy Voltaire for his want of patriotism, his English inclinations, his admiration for Frederick II, his friendship with the Empress Catherine, his really unworthy desire for the patronage of Madame de Pompadour, and above and beyond all, his contemptuous dismissal of Canada as a few acres of snow, is quite overwhelming. Voltaire's summary description of half a continent is to be found in "Candide," published in 1759, where one of the characters is made to say, "You know that these two nations [France and England] are at war for a few

acres of snow, and that they are spending for this fine war more than all Canada is worth." In the same year he writes to Madame du Deffand, "We have had the wit to plant ourselves in Canada between the bears and beavers, after the English had peopled four hundred leagues of the most beautiful country in the world with their flourishing colonies, and now they are driving us from Canada." Later, in the third volume of his history, he speaks of Canada as "a country covered with snow and ice eight months in the year, inhabited only by savages, bears and beavers." Madame de Pompadour, too, possibly as M. Tassé thinks instructed by Voltaire, has the same contempt for the French possession. One regret, indeed, she expresses. In writing to her friend the Marquis Bausac, she says: "The furs you sent me are beautiful, they are worth more than those of Canada, but alas! those of Canada were our own." But Madame is not without consolation. She exclaims on hearing of the taking of Quebec by the English, "Now the king will sleep quietly." M. Tassé is the possessor of two nationalities: as a Frenchman in Canada, he deplores the loss by the mother country of so rich a colony; as a Canadian in France, he sees everywhere in the statues and monuments erected in honour of Voltaire only the perpetuation of an insult to Canada.

The Rev. Abbé Auguste Gosselin read before the Royal Society of Canada a paper entitled *Encore le P. de Bonnécamp, (1707 à 1790)*, a supplement to a previous study. Bonnécamp was a Jesuit Father appointed by the French Government professor of hydrography in the College at Quebec, where he remained from 1744 to the English conquest in 1759. He was an intelligent observer, and travelled in the interior to make geographical observations. This work was done under difficulties, as the following extract from a letter written in 1755 to a scientific correspondent shows:

"But when you know the way in which we travel in this country, you will easily admit that to make satisfactory surveys is almost impossible. We have, for means of transport, a bark canoe, which will barely contain the necessaries of life; moreover, we set out at one or two o'clock in the morning, and do not camp at night until long after sunset. If we make any halt, it is only when the weather is so bad that any observation is as

difficult as walking. I have even been obliged in Lake Erie to leave the convoy altogether to take the altitude in the neighbourhood of Sandusky Bay. To accomplish work really exact, the geographer should himself direct the route, and not be compelled, as I have been, to follow a detachment of troops at the will of the officer in command."

During the Seven Years' War he had the insight to see, even in a time of temporary French successes, that Canada must fall into the hands of the English. He returned to France in 1759, and became an instructor in mathematics there, but the expulsion of the Jesuits, in 1762, caused him to seek another sphere. He was then found at St. Pierre, which, with Miquelon, was the only French possession remaining in North America. Here he became involved in certain questions of ecclesiastical order, which M. Gosselin discusses at great length, but which are not of general interest. Bonnécamp returned to France and died on the eve of the great revolution at a château in Brittany, where he discharged the duties of tutor.

In the Quarterly Review for October, 1898, is a well written article on *The Loyalists of the American Revolution*. The writer quotes Professor Tyler's recent work, to show that the work of the Loyalists is better understood now in the United States than it was. One-fifth of the English population of Canada is, he claims, descended from the Loyalists, and in the veins of many of these people flows the blood of the earlier Puritan settlers in New England, who have exercised so momentous an influence on the great Republic. In some respects cities like St. John, Halifax and Toronto, are more akin to the earlier towns of New England than is Boston itself, with its present huge proportion of Irish, French and Germans. It was indeed a melancholy procession of "weeping pilgrims who, more than a hundred years ago, were seen wending their way to the possessions which Great Britain still retained on the shores of the Atlantic, and in the valley of the St. Lawrence." The Loyalists were drawn from the official, professional and commercial classes, always the ones in a State to resist innovation and revolution. They made great sacrifices in order to remain subjects of Great Britain.

"The estates of the Tories were among the fairest ; their stately mansions stood on the sightliest hill-brows ; the richest and best tilled meadows were their farms, the long avenue, the broad lawn, the trim hedge about the garden, servants, plates, pictures—the varied circumstance, external and internal, of dignified and generous housekeeping—for the most part, these things were at the homes of the Tories. They loved beauty, dignity, and refinement. . . . The day went against them ; they crowded into ships—with the gates of their country barred forever behind them."

Fierce passions are aroused in times of revolution. Probably the Loyalists themselves, had they been successful, would have been guilty of atrocities similar to those of their persecutors. This should not lessen the respect of a more generous age for a patriotism so intense as to be superior to the dictates of material well-being.

Major Ernest Cruikshank has in the Transactions of the Canadian Institute (Toronto, 1898) an article on *Joseph Brant in the American Revolution*, based upon original material. It is to be hoped that he will continue his studies to cover the whole of Brant's career. Stone's biography, written fifty years ago, is, as Major Cruikshank says, full of errors and mis-statements. Brant, with the education of the white man, had still the instincts of the savage. He was an ambitious and determined man, feared alike by friend and foe. His sister was the concubine of Sir William Johnson, and Johnson's consequent interest gave Brant his prominence in Indian affairs. He was liberally educated in Connecticut, and acquired facility in reading and speaking English. He visited England, had his portrait painted by Romney, and was a London lion for a season. Yet he was at heart a ruthless savage, and the British officers during the war of the American Revolution were in constant alarm lest Brant and his Indians should commit inhuman outrages. There was bad blood between the Six Nation Indians, living in the colony of New York, and the neighbouring white settlers. The whites coveted the Indian lands. In some cases surveys were made and patents granted for Indian lands without the knowledge of the occupants. The city of Albany tried to enforce, after an interval of fifty years, a claim thus surreptitiously secured. Brant's personal relations

were largely with those who remained true to England, when the Revolutionary War broke out. His people had already a deep sense of injury. They were far behind their neighbours in material progress, and it was comparatively easy for Brant to induce them to remove from a dangerous neighbourhood to new settlements in the fertile part of Upper Canada, still called by Brant's name. During the war Brant appears to have made Niagara his headquarters. He worked among the Mohawk and other tribes in the winter, and must be held mainly responsible for the plundering and burning of houses and the slaughter of wretched inhabitants in the American settlements. He counts the results of his victories in scalps, and there is little to distinguish his conduct in war from that of other tribesmen who had enjoyed fewer opportunities for culture than he. He chafed under the control of British officers. The home Government sent to Haldimand, the Canadian Governor, a colonel's commission for Brant, but Haldimand begged the Government to cancel this commission as it would have a mischievous effect upon Brant's own career. Major Cruikshank's paper ends somewhat abruptly. The article is scholarly and free from prejudice.

The American Historical Association has done an excellent work in printing in the Annual Report for 1896 (pp. 513-659) a selection from the *Letters of Phineas Bond*, British Consul at Philadelphia, to the Foreign Office of Great Britain, in 1787, 1788 and 1789, which throw much light on the economic condition of the United States, and upon the relations of that country with Great Britain and Canada. Mr. Bond was desirous of promoting emigration to Canada and his references to this subject are of decided interest. On the 16th November, 1788, he writes to Mr. Nepean:

"I waited but for an answer to some representations I made to Government respecting Canada, to have entered into a correspondence with his lordship [Lord Dorchester] upon a very interesting subject (the distracted situation of the United States affords a most favourable opportunity to encourage migrations from hence into Canada)—a general promulgation of the terms and advantages of settlement seems essentially requisite to induce vast bodies of laborious, sober people to remove into a country where they

can enjoy once again the blessings of His Majesty's government, and be exempt from those evils which a relaxed system of laws, a ruined trade and oppressive taxes have brought upon them. . . . Already has the country of Canada presented itself—some have explored it, and many others may be induced to follow and accept the terms of colonization there held out. Most of the people I allude to are of the sect called Quakers. At first the apprehension was general, and even now it is by no means done away, that they would be liable to the payment of tithes, that military duties would be required of them and that the locality of their situation would subject them to the attacks of the Indians. I made particular inquiry as to these facts while the Hon. Mr. Cochrane (Lord Dundonald's brother) was here, and being convinced the apprehension was ill founded, I took the earliest opportunity to remove these obstacles from the mind of some of the leading Quakers whose inclinations tended, I knew, thither, they having applied to me on the subject. As I was circumstanced it was necessary to manage this business with infinite caution; it was a sort of treason against the consequence of the United States whose jealousy increases with the confusion of the times."

On the 10th of November, 1789, Mr. Bond informed the Duke of Leeds that—

"Some very useful citizens have migrated into Canada from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and it has been hinted to me that there are many others ready to follow if they were encouraged; the late scarcity in Canada gave some check to the disposition to migrate thither, but I am convinced it would soon revive if advantageous terms of settlement were promulgated and generally known; a measure, however, which, as it would be viewed with a very jealous eye by the United States, requires very discreet and careful management."

The Public Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of New York, 1807-1817 (Albany: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford Co., 1898), have a bearing upon Canadian history in relation to the War of 1812. Three years ago the Legislature of New York established the office of State Historian, which was promptly filled by the appointment of Mr. Hugh Hastings, an able and well-known journalist. The present portly volume is the result of Mr. Hastings' labours during 1897. He contributes by way of preface a careful biographical sketch of Governor Tompkins and an account of the circumstances which led to the purchase of his papers by the State. This occupies more than a hundred pages. The remainder of the volume is made up of the documents contained in three manuscript volumes of the Tompkins papers, chiefly General Orders respecting the militia, of no great historical significance. As exceptions, however, we may note two letters from Governor Tompkins to the

Secretary of War and General Dearborn, of the 27th and 28th June, 1812 (pp. 652-8). In connection with the share taken by Canada in the War of 1812, two other American histories may be mentioned. They are: *The History of Our Navy from Its Origin to the Present Day, 1775-1897*, by John R. Spears (New York: Scribner), and *Our Navy, Its Growth and Achievements*, by Lieutenant Kelley, U.S.N. (Hartford: American Publishing Co.). Their object is so obviously commercial and the narrative is so undisguisedly partisan and unhistorical that serious criticism would be wasted on them. Mr. Spears is a newspaper correspondent who has already published several rather entertaining books of travel. This, we believe, is his first venture in the field of history. He writes quite unmitigated journalese. The following sentence is a fair example, both of the tone and style of his book:

"The Englishman came yapping up till he saw the teeth of the silent Yankee turned upon him, when he hesitated, turned, trailed in his spanker as a dog tucks its tail between its legs, and ran back to his own enclosure" (Vol. II, p. 16.)

From Mr. Kelley better things might have been expected and in fact he is a trifle less boastful and offensive, but his book like the other is a mere uncritical compilation put together to gratify national vanity and prejudice. Both are well and profusely illustrated.

The Canadian Rebellion of 1837, by D. B. Read, Q.C., (Toronto: Robinson, 1896) is frankly a compilation from several well-known works on the subject. No references are given, and there is not the slightest evidence of original research or historical insight. The narrative is of the thinnest yet not absolutely unreadable. Among other queer bits of information, a troop of lancers is described as "a corps of javelin men from Toronto," and the numerous "Hunters' Lodges" organized at that time in the border towns of the United States are said to have derived their name from "a man named Hunter who lived near Whitby."

L'Union des Deux Canadas, 1841-1867 (Montreal: Senécal 1898) by M. L.-O. David, a writer well known in the province.

of Quebec, is not happily named, for it is really a study of the Union only as it has affected the French nationality in Canada. M. David writes from the standpoint of a French Catholic. He is therefore somewhat prejudiced, yet his tone is fair, and he can see merit even in such an opponent of French influence as was the late George Brown. Lord Durham's famous report of 1838 was frankly, as M. David puts it, "a decree of death" to French influence. The provinces were united in order that the English might be supreme. English was to be the sole official language. Carrying out this policy not a single French-Canadian was included in the first ministry after the Union. Such flagrant injustice to a people then as numerous as the English rallied the national spirit. In Upper Canada liberals like the Hon. Robert Baldwin supported the French claim for representation, and by a curious coincidence it soon happened that Baldwin sat in Parliament for the French constituency of Rimouski, while Lafontaine the French-Canadian leader sat for the English constituency of York in Upper Canada. M. David traces in great detail the political history as it affected French Canada during the period. He more rarely turns to other events, but the description which he gives of the sufferings of one hundred thousand Irish fleeing from famine in Ireland to Canada in 1848 is heartrending. Cooped up in miserable vessels, typhus broke out among them; whole families died and were thrown into the sea. Five thousand perished *en route*, the remainder landing in Canada were dependent on charity, and there was a good deal of indignation at the British Government for sending these poor people in this condition across the sea. Feudalism still lingered in Lower Canada. The *habitant* still paid to the seigneur his annual dues, and the twelfth of the value of the land he sold; to the seigneur still belonged the exclusive right of building mills and of making a fixed charge for grinding the grain of his vassals. A form of *corvée* prevailed, by which the vassal must supply to the seigneur stone and wood for building as he required it, and one-tenth of the fish taken in the rivers, streams, and lakes on the seigneur's domain must be given to him. The whole system was in the end swept away. M. David

thinks that the French-Canadians were betrayed by their leaders in the Confederation movement of 1865-1866. The proposed measure was never submitted to the people for approval and this, he thinks, vitiates the present Confederation. He promises at a later time a study of Canada since Confederation. There was a curious resemblance between M. Lafontaine and the first Napoleon.

Quand à son dernier voyage en France il visita l'Hôtel des Invalides, les vieux soldats de la grande armée se pressèrent autour de lui, pleins d'émotion, et s'écriaient avec transport: 'Bon Dieu! monsieur, que vous ressemblez à notre empereur.' La première fois que Lady Bagot l'aperçut, elle ne put s'empêcher de pousser un cri de surprise et de dire à son mari: 'Si je n'étais pas certaine qu'il est mort, je dirais que c'est lui.' Elle parlait de Napoléon Ier, qu'elle avait vu à Paris" (p. 14).

The book abounds in portrayals of character. In style it is somewhat disconnected, and long speeches on the Confederation question, which should have been relegated to an appendix, are inserted in the text.

The anonymous *H. R. H. The Prince of Wales* (London: Richards, 1898) is understood to have been issued with the Prince's sanction, and it purports to be the only complete biography yet published. It contains an account of the Prince's visit to Canada in 1860, and the author constantly speaks of the "Dominion" of Canada as existing at that time, though it was not created until 1867. The book contains many rather silly and trifling stories, but this was perhaps to be expected. Undoubtedly in Canada the Prince's visit did good. He showed great tact and kindly feeling. He danced with the fishermen's wives and daughters in Newfoundland, and made himself agreeable everywhere. He was received too with enthusiasm in the United States. The author tells us that fifty thousand people of Chicago, "which was then only a village of unfinished streets," turned out to welcome him. This was certainly a great feat for a "village." On his return voyage to England storms caused delay, provisions fell short, and the Prince was reduced to salt fare.

The Fenian raids of 1866 receive notice from three writers in the *Canadian Magazine*. The January number concludes

some personal reminiscences by Mr. Robert Larmour, at that time a railway official, to whom it fell to convey Colonel Booker's column from Port Colborne to Ridgeway. He gives a painful picture of the inadequate equipment of the force. Through lack of waggons to carry forward the reserve ammunition brought by rail from Port Colborne, it had to be taken back; nor was proper provision made for feeding the men of the Queen's Own sent forward to Fort Erie. In the magazine for February Mr. John W. Defoe shows similarly how the volunteers called out to guard the Quebec frontier suffered from want of suitable clothing. Mr. J. Vroom, in the March issue, carries the tale eastward to the St. Croix, and tells of the effect of the invasion on the people of New Brunswick, who four times since the Loyalist settlement have been aroused by threats of armed attack—by the French in 1783; by New England privateers in 1812; again on the occasion of the Aroostook trouble, 1837; and finally by the Fenians. The lesson of these papers is sufficiently obvious. The Canadian militia service, without adequately trained officers, in time of need completely broke down.

The November and December numbers of the *Canadian Magazine* contain the first two of a series of three articles relating to *The Red River Expedition*, written by Captain J. J. Bell, an officer on General Wolseley's force. The first contains a short clear summary of the circumstances leading to the first Riel rising, and its incidents up to the murder of Scott. The second shows the composition of General Wolseley's force, sent to restore order, and details the difficulties of the expedition in reaching the Red River from Ontario.

The Parliamentary Guide, edited by Mr. Arnott J. Magurn (Winnipeg: Manitoba Free Press Company, 1898) will prove a useful reference book for public men. It reproduces the Acts which lie at the basis of the Canadian constitution, the Customs and Franchise Acts of the last year, and others of immediate interest, summarizes the legislation of the eighth Dominion

Parliament, and touches upon some events of Imperial significance in other portions of the Empire. It is to be regretted that a work, prepared with such evident care and so valuable for its matter, should not have had greater pains bestowed upon its diction and printing. Misprints mar the text, the numbering of pages is extraordinarily imperfect, while the following quotation speaks for the literary style:

"Confederation came about in British Columbia entirely different to that in the other provinces in the Dominion. The fathers of Confederation, as the early pioneers who engineered the confederation of the provinces are called, had many difficulties to contend with, for many of the colonists were ever to the front with claims of advantage in remaining apart."

The volume, *Personnel of the Senate and House of Commons*, (Montreal: Lovell, 1898) contains a sufficiently full biography of each member, and the portraits are of special interest to the student of national types. One is scarcely dependent upon the letter-press to distinguish the French from the English members. It is obvious that a distinctive Canadian type has not yet been evolved, for these faces are English, French, Scotch, Irish—not peculiarly of this country. Among the members of Parliament, the lawyer appears to be the preponderating element. There are, however, a number of physicians, some of them eminent in their profession; in the French Chamber are also many physicians, but there they rapidly develop into the professional politician, owing to absence from their practice through the necessity for residing for a long period in Paris.

The pages of the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* (published by P. G. Roy, Lévis, Quebec) are rich in personal notes on men connected with the history of Canada, in the results of archæological research, and in citations from valuable historical documents, which give interesting glimpses of the conditions obtaining in the daily life of the early settlements. The most serious blemish in the magazine is the legendary matter which is inserted as serious history. The story of the supernatural restoration of a silver goblet after the death of the priest to whom it had been presented, and who had only

consented to accept it on condition of its being returned to the donor or his heirs after his own demise, is unworthy of a publication the scope of which is professedly "archæology, history, biography, bibliography and numismatics." The English reader finds particularly instructive the glimpses of French-Canadian feeling towards British connection. The general tenour is one of loyalty to the Crown, which is not inconsistent with resentment of the suspicion evinced at times by administrators and Canadians of British origin concerning the fidelity of their French compatriots of the lower province.

The race question in Canada has happily never been complicated by the presence of any large number of "blacks," yet their introduction was begun under the French régime. M. Gagnon notes that in 1688 MM. de Denonville and de Champigny wrote to the Secretary of State in France, recommending the importation of negro slaves into Canada as a remedy for the scarcity and great cost of domestic servants and labourers. The Minister replied, giving the King's sanction, and negroes continued to be imported till towards the beginning of this century. But this was not the only form of slave trade which received royal sanction in New France. Another contributor notes an unpublished letter from Louis XIV to Governor de la Barre, as follows :

"Whereas it is for the advantage of my service to diminish as much as possible the number of Iroquois ; and whereas these strong, robust savages will be useful in my galleys ; therefore I desire you to do all in your power to take a large number of them prisoners of war, and to cause them at every opportunity to be put on shipboard in order to transport them to France."

M. Camille de Rochemonteix contributes some interesting correspondence between Louis XIV's confessor, François de la Chaise, and the General of the Jesuits, relating to the suppression of their Relations. Having learned that the suppression was due to a decree issued from Rome, the King asserted the independence of the Gallican Church by ordering that the missionary reports dating from the prohibition should at once be made public. The General replied that he would willingly obey "if his hands were not tied by the threat of excommunication and loss of his office." Louis eventually allowed the matter to drop. M. de Rochemonteix aims at proving that the action of

the Jesuits in this matter was not occasioned by fear or prudential reasons. The reader will, however, be able to draw his own conclusions.

Le Courrier du Livre (Quebec: Raoul Rénauld) continues its useful work in connection with Canadian and American bibliography. The original contributions vary greatly in quality. Amongst those dealing with historical subjects is a series of papers, running from March to June, inclusive, by Mr. Thomas Storrow Brown, describing his personal experiences in the Papineau rebellion, under the heading: *1837, and My Connection with It*. They present an interesting view of the state of feeling among the Papineau party, the keen sense of injustice which lent vigour to the reform movement, and the intemperate, visionary impulsiveness which produced the armed rebellion itself. The double August and September number is entirely devoted to the Champlain celebration. M. Dionne writes a brief but appreciative account of the great explorer's life, and a review of the state of the colony at his death. M. Ernest Gagnon relates the story of Champlain's erection of Fort Saint Louis for the protection of his colony at Quebec. The first edifice was not completed before it was found to be too small for its purpose. It was accordingly razed and a more commodious structure erected, which served not only as a defence to the settlement, but also as a dignified residence for the Governor. M. Raoul Renauld contributes a bibliographical essay called *Champlain, ses œuvres et ses historiens*, a convenient reference list for the student. These are only some of the appropriate contributions in prose and verse in this festival number.

Number one of the *Transactions of the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society* (Ottawa: Reynolds, 1898) might have been printed more attractively, but the contents are of great interest. The Society is now more than fifty years old, but this is its first publication. Half a century ago, when Ottawa was the obscure village of Bytown, the Society was founded to furnish means of culture to the inhabitants. Not yet has Ottawa a public library; but the desolation of the thought is mitigated by the

fact that the splendid library of Parliament is accessible to many of the citizens. In the early days mechanics were charged an annual membership fee of five shillings, clerks ten shillings and merchants twenty shillings—a benevolent type of class legislation. One lecturer talked to the Society for seven hours together, another described the geography of Canada in a talk of four hours and the present editor thinks that the audience had cause for congratulation that Canada had not then been more fully explored. Papers are still read frequently before the Society, and some of these are now published.

M. Benjamin Sulte points out that the Ottawa Indians lived principally in what is now Wisconsin, and that they had very slight connection with the Ottawa River valley. They used this river to reach the trading posts on the St. Lawrence, and it came somehow to be believed that the valley of the Ottawa was the ancient residence of the tribe of that name. "In fact," says M. Sulte, "the name of Ottawa is the consecration of an error. The capital of Canada stands before us under a foreign name." Mr. George Johnson's article on *Place-Names of Canada* is able and interesting, though he is sometimes too facetious. He thinks that the Government of Canada should appoint a permanent commission to determine new place-names, and the suggestion is reasonable and valuable. Five hundred of the present post-masters in Canada have called the post-offices by their own names, which are not always beautiful. Perhaps the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Geological Survey of Canada, have had more to do with the naming of localities than any other bodies. The Indians gave most appropriate place-names. Mattawa means "the place where two rivers meet;" Chicoutimi is "the end of deep water;" Kamouraska means "a reedy shore;" Tadoussac means "the hillock region;" Penetanguishene means "the rolling of shining sands;" Toronto means "the place of meeting." If we compare these names with "Pile of Bones," "Medicine Hat," "Bloody Gulch" and other atrocities of the white man, we shall see that the Indian has in this respect better taste. A Governor named Canadian townships after his poodle dogs, Tiny and Floss. The poor negroes fleeing from

bondage in the United States and calling their settlement Buxton showed a better sense of the fitness of things. Bergen, in the middle of the prairie country, without sea or mountains, is certainly not happily named after the Norwegian town. Mr. Johnson is surely joking when he tells us that the New Brunswick name Kennebecasis is due to some traveller's search for Casey's inn in a storm and calling out "Can it be Casey's." The English and French have made some curious transformations in each other's place-names. The present "Cape Despair," on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is the "Cap d'Espoir" of the French. The gate in Quebec named after the Hope family, is called by the French "Porte de l'Espérance." "Cap Faim," chronicling an unpleasant French experience of hunger, in English becomes Cape Fame. Mr. Johnson's English is not what it might be, and sometimes he relapses into slang. The identity of "Sir Oliver of Ontario" we can guess at, even if we wonder why the proper name should not be given. Mr. Johnson thinks that Drake sailed back again from the Pacific around Cape Horn (p. 35). He finds it necessary in describing the fathers of Confederation to attach a distinguishing adjective to each, and we have "the venerable Taché, the astute John A. Macdonald, the fiery Cartier, . . . the shrewd Mowat, the eloquent McGee, the vehement Tupper, the suave Archibald, the trusted Tilley," and so on.

Professor Macoun, the Assistant Naturalist of the Geological Survey, has an interesting paper on *The Fur Seal of the North Pacific*. Russian traders in the eighteenth century had long known that the fur seals must resort to some special breeding-place in the North Pacific, but for fifty years they had been unable to find it. In 1786 the Pribylof Islands were discovered, and the mysterious breeding-place of the seals was at length known. The islands were uninhabited, and this was no doubt the cause of the resort thither of these singular creatures. The Russians transported natives of the Aleutian Islands to the Pribylof Islands, and to this day these people perform the disagreeable work of slaughtering the seals at the proper season. When the United States acquired the islands,

the Russian Government stipulated that the Greek Church alone should be permitted to work there. The islanders now speak English, and are pretty well Americanized, but they adhere to their old faith. Professor Macoun's description of the islands in the breeding season makes an extraordinary picture. The males fight fiercely, although they never kill each other. They are polygamous, and sometimes one male will have as many as one hundred females attached to him. The thousands of pups playing in the water contrast with the grim picture of the other thousands of adult males driven at the proper season to the slaughtering-ground to be killed. The sealing controversy between the United States and Canada became acute when the mortality among the seal pups greatly increased. Professor Macoun himself counted twenty-two thousand dead pups in the Pribylof Islands in one season. It was claimed on behalf of the United States that Canadian sealing vessels killed the mothers of these seals, while swimming in the open sea, and that, in consequence, the pups died of starvation. Seals, it appears, can go for weeks without food, and the mothers would venture from the islands far out to sea. Professor Macoun claims, however, that the real cause of the mortality among the pups is a parasitic worm; that few young seals die of starvation, and that not pelagic sealing, but excessive slaughter on the Pribylof Islands themselves is the cause of the decline in the number of seals.

Publication No. 4 of the Niagara Historical Society while containing only four slight articles is praiseworthy as a promise of better things. The longest and best article is that of Mr. Coyne, President of the Provincial Historical Association, advocating the erection of a monument at Niagara to the Loyalists who landed there soon after the close of the Revolutionary War. Mr. Coyne says with truth that the Loyalists had "the defects of their qualities, a certain intolerance and hauteur, an undisguised contempt [for] and hatred of opinions at variance with their own," but they stood, as he says, for the solidarity of their race and the British Empire. Written in

the Jubilee year the paper may perhaps be pardoned for a rather florid patriotism. Mr. Coyne should not say that the territory of Canada is larger than that of the United States, and nearly as large as all Europe, without explaining that there is a vast region of Canada which can never be populated. He draws a glowing picture of the security of life and property in Canada:

"We can justly and proudly claim that if life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are objects worthy of the care and protection of government, our own constitution guards these more carefully than does that of our neighbours. With their annual harvest of ten thousand murders and two hundred lynchings Canada does not desire to compete. Since the conquest it can probably be affirmed with truth that there has never been a case of lynching in British North America."

The extent of crime in the United States is here probably exaggerated. In the whole of Canada for a period of thirteen years there have only been one hundred and thirteen convictions for murder. The Hon. J. G. Currie gives an interesting account of the battle of Queenston Heights, of the scene of which he has been a life-long student. Miss Carnochan tells of a Loyalist named Land, whose house was burned in one of the colonies during his absence. His wife and children, thinking him dead, found their way to Nova Scotia. Land went to the Niagara district, and after thirteen years the family was reunited there.

In the *Proceedings of the Canadian Military Institute* (Welland: The Tribune) Major Ernest Cruikshank continues his series on the services of Canadian regiments in the war of 1812, dealing now with the provincial cavalry. General Brock tried to organize in 1812 two troops of cavalry in the Niagara district, but only a very small force was formed. Major Cruikshank follows the operations of this force throughout the war. Much of the information is derived from the diary of Captain Merritt, who narrates modestly his exploit of carrying off single-handed an American sentry and another soldier whom he fell in with after he had the sentry in charge. Full muster rolls of the cavalry are given. A captain received fifteen shillings per day, privates three shillings. Presumably this is the old York shilling of twelve and a half cents, and not the English shilling.

M. Benjamin Sulte of the Militia Department at Ottawa writes on *The Early History of the Canadian Militia, 1636 to 1700*, and shows that down even to 1754 the defence of Canada was left mainly in the hands of a purely Canadian militia. There was little to induce officers from France to go to Canada, and the troops were officered by resident Canadians for the most part. In time of peace these officers were officials, fur traders, farmers; they were almost always skilful in the use of weapons, and, through their life in the woods, developed a marked military superiority to the New England population. The distances which small troops of Canadian militia covered are surprising. They captured the English forts on James Bay and also posts in Newfoundland. In view of the fact that Canada had a population of only about fifteen thousand Europeans in 1700, their record of success is sufficiently remarkable. Lieutenant-Colonel T. C. Scoble writes on *The Back Door of Canada*, the back door being Hudson Bay. Colonel Scoble contends that Hudson Bay would in case of war be a valuable secondary base of supplies for the interior of Canada. It is singular that in recent times Hudson Bay is probably less frequented than it was a century or even two centuries ago. It was the scene of fierce conflicts between English and French in the seventeenth century, and as late as 1782 a force under La Perouse captured, almost without a struggle, the English posts on the Bay with booty valued at half a million pounds sterling. In 1846 Hudson Bay was chosen as a military route for an English force going to Fort Garry, now Winnipeg, and it has since been used more than once for the same purpose. Colonel Scoble compares this easier route with the long and painful journey of the present Lord Wolseley by the Lake Superior route in 1870. He is convinced that Hudson Bay is the shipping-place of the future for the products of the great North-west, and he thinks that its strategic points should be fortified, and that Great Britain would be sure of a food supply in time of war by protecting, as she easily could, this short and northern route. The Honourable G. W. Ross writes on *Formative Influences in Canadian History*. Perhaps the most striking thing in his paper is that he

expresses himself as frankly dissatisfied with the present political status of Canada.

"Many loyal Canadians feel that, notwithstanding the generous extent to which we have been allowed the privilege of self-government, there is ever present a feeling of adolescence and dependence which is incompatible with the fullest development of a national spirit. No colony can call itself a nation. We have the right of occupation in the soil of Canada, but Great Britain holds the equity of redemption, and until we become a nation in the true sense of the term, or until we have more than a sentimental interest in the Empire, no matter how strong that sentiment may be, we shall never have the spirit or the aspirations of national manhood."

In form the publications of the Institute are not what they might be. There should be a running headline giving the title of the article on each page. The proof-reading has sometimes been careless.

Canadian Defence is the subject of some thoughtful contributions to the *Canadian Magazine*. Captains C. F. Winter and William Wood deal with the improvement of our militia system in order to make it an effective link in the chain of Imperial defence. The former, after demonstrating statistically that Canada, as compared with other peaceably situated nations, is shirking her responsibilities in this matter, gives the gist of both officers' thought thus: "Our main duty to the Empire lies in improving our own local defence, in making it as much as possible self-defensive and self-sustaining, and in educating our people to rely more upon themselves and their own efforts and sacrifices." If our duty be faithfully discharged in this way, the Imperial army and navy will then be free, so far as the Dominion is concerned, to fulfil what Captain Wood indicates as their proper function, that of concentrating rapidly and in force upon any desired points, whether alone abroad, or within the empire in co-operation with local forces. Both writers outline schemes for increasing the efficiency of our militia, which include the organization of a militia reserve. The movement in this direction already inaugurated by the Queen's Own Rifles is sketched briefly in the April issue by Mr. R. E. Kingsford.

Mr. Thomas E. Champion's pamphlet on *The Anglican Church in Canada* was first published in the *Canadian*

Magazine. In the opening chapter he describes the neglect of America displayed by the Anglican Church down to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Its clergy in America were few, and all ordinations took place in the Old Country, no bishop being appointed to America prior to 1784. In that year Dr. Seabury, of Connecticut, was sent by vote of his brother priests to seek consecration in England. Having failed in the course of a year to obtain it, he proceeded to Scotland and was there made bishop by three prelates of the non-juring Scottish Episcopal Church. The next consecration for this continent was that of Dr. Inglis to the see of Nova Scotia, which took place at Lambeth in 1787. Dr. Inglis had come to Nova Scotia as a Loyalist immigrant, leaving the comfortable incumbency of Trinity Church, New York, where he had already given proof of his royalist sympathies by continuing to read the regular prayers for the king in the face of insult and threatened violence. His diocese at the time of its creation included all the Maritime Provinces, the two Canadas, Newfoundland and the Bermudas. Six years later, by the founding of the bishopric of Quebec, he was relieved of the oversight of the Canadas. The writer, after recording the successive creation of Canadian bishoprics, down to that of Ottawa within the last three years, goes on to treat of the work of the Anglican Church in the matter of higher education in Canada. To members of this communion are due the establishment of such well-known educational institutions as King's College, Nova Scotia, Bishop's College, Lennoxville, the University of Toronto, first called King's College, and Trinity University in the same city. All these colleges, as first founded, partook of a denominational character, the creation of the last being due to the secularization of the University of Toronto. Mr. Champion does not attempt detailed treatment of the events of which he makes mention; it is to be regretted, however, that he has not gone somewhat more fully into the relations between the State and the Anglican Church in Canada prior to the middle of the present century, and the circumstances which led to its ceasing to be the State Church. These were matters of national importance and intense

general interest at the time, and as such are of great historical value now.

Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698 to 1898, by the Rev. W. Osborn. B. Allen and the Rev. Edmund McClure (London: S.P.C.K. 1898), contains matter of interest to Canada. The society, in the course of its existence, has contributed no less than £136,886. to educational objects in Canada, including Newfoundland. Trinity College, Toronto, has received £6,500; St. John's College, Winnipeg, £4,500; Bishop's College, Lennoxville, £3,600; King's College, Windsor, N.S., large gifts, both of money and of books; the Western University, London, Ontario, £2,000, etc. Since 1880, £6,800 have been contributed for building churches in the Canadian North-west, and the society is now aiding the Anglican Church in its work in the Yukon and Klondyke regions. This is a noble record of generosity. The society is a great trading corporation, and has done much for the circulation of wholesome literature. The writers of the history show an accuracy of information on Canadian history and present conditions, at least as related to Church matters, which does credit to their knowledge of the Empire lying outside Great Britain; yet even they illustrate the curious tendency of English writers on colonial subjects to cling to traditional, though inaccurate expressions, when they describe the settlers on the farm lands of Manitoba as having "their homes to build and their land to clear." Probably Messrs. Allen and McClure know as well as Canadians, if they would think about it, that the majority of Manitoban farmers have not had to labour hard to "clear" their stretch of prairie.

Some Aspects of the Social Life of Canada is the rather general title of an article in the Canadian Magazine for May by Professor Shortt of Queen's University. He chiefly confines criticism to what he calls "representative parts of Ontario." Mr. Shortt begins by a brief survey of the character of the early settlers in Ontario, which he finds distinguished by that

potentially excellent quality, self-assertiveness. The means of education, as the word is popularly understood, were deficient in those first days, however, and hence in a measure, Mr. Shortt thinks, it comes that this admirable root of Canadian character has grown somewhat rank in our own time. Three broad lines are indicated along which improvement in the pleasure and worth of Canadian life may be made: (1) in the execution of and interest in the daily work by which people gain their living; (2) in the employment of leisure; (3) in the embellishment of our physical surroundings. The thoughts included under the third heading should appeal to those interested in the stimulation of patriotic spirit. The article throughout is wholesomely suggestive and the style animated. As a sample, referring to those whose patriotism leads them in bland self-satisfaction away from the path of effort, he says:

"We are in danger of prematurely ripening into the finest people on earth. This condition has been attained by several promising races in the past, and is at present most conspicuously enjoyed by the Chinese and Turks, where self-flattery and self-complacency are identical with patriotism and where self-criticism is at once blasphemy, heresy and treason. What is first wanted then, it seems to me, is an intelligent self-criticism. It is much better to discover one's own defects than to be beholden to strangers for the service of pointing them out."

In the volumes of the *Dictionary of National Biography* published during 1898 (London: Smith, Elder), under the editorship of Mr. Sidney Lee, several names distinguished in Canadian history appear. Sir James Stuart's public activities found their sphere in the law-courts and legislature of Lower Canada. As member of the House of Assembly he pushed the investigations which led to the impeachment of Sewell and Monk. He advocated the union of the two Canadas, and in the office of Chief Justice of Lower Canada, to which he had been appointed by Lord Durham, his advice as to the terms of the Act of Union carried weight. After the union he continued to hold the position of Chief Justice of Lower Canada. He was also prominent in the institution of municipalities in that province. Charles James Stewart succeeded Bishop Mountain in the Anglican diocese of Quebec, which then included both

Upper and Lower Canada. Another ecclesiastic of note was Dr. John Strachan, first Anglican bishop of Toronto and eminent amongst the chief educationalists of Upper Canada. He was largely instrumental in the establishment of a system of common and grammar schools throughout this province. Having devoted his prime to the founding of King's College (now the University of Toronto) as the crown of his educational scheme, Dr. Strachan in old age was forced by his convictions to begin again the labour of university-making, owing to the secularization of King's College. Trinity University, Toronto is the fruit of his later efforts. To Elzéar Alexandre Taschereau, teacher and ecclesiastic of the Roman Church, belonged the distinction of being the first Canadian cardinal. He was one of the founders of Laval University and the author of a treatise on religious affairs in Canada. Sir Étienne Pascal Taché, member of the Legislative Council, was twice premier of Canada under the union. He was elected chairman of the Quebec Conference, Oct. 10, 1864. It is doubtless in reference to this that the *Dictionary of National Biography* says that "in October, 1864, he presided over the intercolonial conference at Ottawa to discuss the question of federation." The conference, however, met at Quebec, not at Ottawa. Alexandre Antonin Taché was made Roman Catholic archbishop of Manitoba after an active missionary career among the Indians of the west. "He had become the most influential person in the North-west Territories, and when in 1868 they were incorporated into the Dominion, he dictated to the delegates the conditions to be stipulated for." The extent of his influence was attested by the urgent request sent to him from the Canadian Government during the first Riel rising that he should return to his archdiocese, he being then on a visit to Rome. Exception must be taken to the statement that the North-west Territories were incorporated into the Dominion in 1868. By the Rupert's Land Act the Queen was empowered in that year, under certain conditions, to incorporate the district referred to with the Dominion by an order in council. But the order was not issued before June 23,

1870, to take effect on July 15 of the same year. Archbishop Taché took a strong stand on the Manitoba school question. He published several works relating to the Northwest. Other names which occur in connection with Canada are: Alexander Somerville, editor of the *Canadian Illustrated News* and author of "Canada as a Battle-ground," and a "Narrative of the Fenian Invasion of Canada"; Captain W. G. Stairs, explorer; Charles Stanhope, Earl of Harrington, who was with the British army from the battle of the Plains of Abraham till the surrender at Saratoga, and whose opinion on Burgoyne's conduct of the latter campaign given before the select committee is noted; Sir C. W. D. Staveland, whose sketches were employed in the settlement of the Oregon boundary question; Charles Stedman, one of those appointed to examine and settle the claims of the Loyalists, and author of a history of the American War; also Samuel Strickland, pioneer settler in the Lakefield district and author of "Twenty-seven Years in Canada."

Sir John Bourinot's series of articles, *The Makers of the Dominion of Canada*, is continued through ten months' issues of the *Canadian Magazine* for 1898. The January number contains no. iii of the series, and is devoted to *The Explorers of the St. Lawrence Valley and the Great West*. One point which the author emphasizes in this series is the growth of mutual appreciation between the English and French elements of our population, a growth which his own work is calculated to promote by pointing out the parts played in the making of the Dominion by the several races. Thus, in this paper, the honours of pioneer exploration of the great arteries of this continent are freely accorded to Frenchmen. In the one hundred and fifty years preceding the middle of the eighteenth century Frenchmen had explored the three great waterways of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi and the Winnipeg, and had, perhaps, in the persons of the younger Vérendryes, penetrated to the spurs of the Rocky Mountains. Paper no. iv, entitled *The Heroes of the Seven Years' War*, in considering the causes of the loss of Canada by France, compares the condition of the

English and French colonies in America. "The needs of Canada and Louisiana were always men and money," while population and wealth increased continuously in the English settlements under their self-reliant political institutions. On the other hand the French possessed one important advantage in the good will of the Indians, the reward of the discreet and humane policy they had regularly maintained towards these peoples. The founding of Nova Scotia and the establishment there of a representative assembly in 1758, eleven months before the fall of Quebec, are described in the three following papers. Not until thirty-four years later did Canada get a similar gift. Paper viii, *The Canadian Heroes of the War of 1812-14*, reviews the principal engagements during those three years, and shows the advantages and difficulties under which the invaders attempted their task. Chief amongst the former was their vast superiority in numbers, but against this must be reckoned the physical difficulties of invasion in those days of small transportation facilities between the two countries, and the "sullen apathy or antagonism felt by the people of New England with respect to the war." The beneficial effects of that period of trial in welding together the varied elements of our population and laying the foundation of a national spirit among them are well brought out. The remaining four papers are devoted to the establishment of responsible government and the extension of the Dominion to its present dimensions. The series constitutes a valuable addition to popular Canadian history. It is characterized by lucidity and a fine sense of proportion, the main issue of the several periods being boldly outlined, and unnecessary distracting details omitted. In some of the later papers the catalogues of names are wearisome, though justified by the title of the series. The illustrations are well chosen and satisfactorily executed, but the proof-reading leaves much to be desired.

Canadian Men and Women of the Time, edited by Henry James Morgan (Toronto: Briggs, 1898), aims at becoming a permanent institution, issued triennially. The general arrangement is that of the English "Men and Women of the Time," with three

additional features: the private and club addresses of the subjects of sketches, their views in certain cases on public questions, and press opinions concerning themselves. The two last additions are of questionable advantage, the limits of the biographical notices rendering the first of them necessarily inadequate, and the short newspaper compliments which fall under the other heading being of small value. In spite of occasional errors in minor details, and the scarcely avoidable defect of some statements being out of date by a year or two, the editor has managed to collect a vast amount of authentic information which should make this volume of over eleven hundred pages a valuable reference book. It would be more valuable, however, if reduced to half its bulk. The omission of the name of so well known a Canadian as Sir John Bourinot is inexplicable. Paper and binding are all that need be desired for a work of this kind, and the type is excellent. The interleaved advertisements are, however, a serious blemish.

Bishops of the Day by Frederic Sawrey Lowndes (London: Richards, 1897) is a biographical dictionary of the prelates of the Anglican communion throughout the world. Those of the United States are of course included, and the names of dioceses in all parts of the world suggest the whole range of the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race. In this respect the book has a peculiar interest. The periodical Lambeth Conferences show that there has long been unity and co-operation within the Anglican Church. It is not uninteresting to remember that in England, twelve hundred years ago, the ecclesiastical union effected by Archbishop Theodore only anticipated political union under the royal house of Wessex. Perhaps ecclesiastical co-operation will again be the forerunner of the united action of the English race in political affairs. One is struck by the small number of native Canadian prelates. Of sixteen named here, but three (the bishops of Huron, Ottawa, and Algoma) were born in Canada. The others are all Englishmen, with two exceptions, the Archbishop of Ontario and the Bishop of Niagara, who are Irishmen. The accounts of the dioceses have

apparently, for the most part, been furnished by the bishops themselves and they are sometimes too roseate. It is surely an error to say that the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Ottawa "extends over by far the greater portion of the province of Ontario." One of the most interesting careers is that of Bishop Bompas of Selkirk. He went out to the Yukon from England in 1865, lived among the Indians as one of themselves, and even shared the life of the Eskimos in their disgusting but warm ice-houses. His first diocese was named Athabasca. When it was divided in 1884 he chose the more difficult half, that of Mackenzie River. When Mackenzie River was divided in 1891, he again chose the more difficult half, Selkirk, the greater part if not all of which lies within the Arctic circle. For a third of a century he has lived the rough life of the Yukon country, so frequently described in our day by Klondyke travellers. He is a cultivated scholar, and has continued his studies in Hebrew and Syriac, and he has published a volume of poems. His powers of work are said to be enormous.

In the preface to *Who's Who, 1898*, edited by Mr. Douglas Sladen (London: A. & C. Black), it is explained that last year "advantage was taken of the presence of the colonial premiers to secure their autobiographies," while other colonial biographies have been collected by the aid of members of the Royal Colonial Institute and others. Canadian notices include some leading politicians, governors and churchmen.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces

Le Père Lefebvre et L'Acadie. Par Pascal Poirier. Deuxième Edition. Montreal: C. O. Beauchemin et Fils. 1898. Pp. 311.

Much has been written upon the dispersion of the Acadians about the middle of the last century; perhaps every recorded fact in connection with that melancholy event has been made known, but their history after the dispersion has been almost completely ignored. Yet at this day their descendants number quite three hundred thousand, and they are an important part of the population of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Longfellow discovered the Acadians for poetical purposes more than half a century ago. His "Evangeline," which is certainly not poetry of the highest order, has produced an effect far beyond its merits. The Acadians had long looked upon the people of Boston as the hated authors of their original misfortunes; Longfellow's poem was a tardy recognition from New England of the real nature of the tragedy. It touched the hearts of the Acadians; and the traveller at the present day in the parts of Nova Scotia inhabited by Acadians finds incessant reminders of Longfellow. A medallion portrait of him decorates the theatre of the great Acadian college of St. Joseph. Inns, ships and children are named after the heroine of his poem—touching illustrations of a people's gratitude to their poet champion.

M. Poirier, the author of the present book, says truly that "what is astonishing about the Acadians is that they still exist." A few remained in hiding in the woods after the English had carried away the rest. Many wanderers returned to the old scenes at a later time. Neglected after the close of the Seven Years' War, their scattered settlements in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were allowed to relapse almost into primitive barbarism. They had no schools and little contact with the outside world. Their religion was proscribed. In

the end, however, they were allowed priests. The French Revolution, so disastrous to the Church in France, aided it in the maritime provinces of Canada. Refugee priests took up mission work among the Acadians, outcasts like themselves. Calonne, brother of the famous minister whose financial exploits precipitated the French Revolution, worked as a missionary in Prince Edward Island, and died at Three Rivers, Quebec, in 1822. His manuscript correspondence, still preserved, ought to be of historical interest. Another refugee, the Abbé Sigogne, went to the Acadians of St. Mary's Bay, in Nova Scotia, where his memory is still preserved as that of a hero and saint.

The Acadian settlements were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of Quebec, who had half a continent for his diocese. Not until 1818 and 1819 were suffragan bishops appointed for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The Church furnished the only civilizing influence that saved the Acadians from barbarism. A few schools were started, and the work of placing this unhappy people on a footing equal to that of their English neighbours was begun; yet as late as 1866 a writer in Quebec could speak of the Acadians as a people who had disappeared. There were, in fact, at that time eighty-five thousand Acadians in the Maritime provinces alone.

Père Lefebvre may be looked upon as the father of Acadian progress in recent times. A French-Canadian priest, educated at Montreal, he had attracted attention by his energy and oratorical powers. Bishop Sweeney, of St. John, New Brunswick, had made the discovery that there was a considerable number of Acadians in his diocese. At Memramcook, near the Nova Scotian boundary, was a parish of some four thousand souls, nearly all Acadians. The people were in a state of great ignorance, and were all on a common level of poverty. The women still wore the peculiar dress of the last century. A stolid, undemonstrative people they had become, in vivid contrast with their French ancestors. A small seminary for boys already existed at Memramcook, and the bishop determined to enlarge this work. In 1864 Père Lefebvre was called

to take charge of it. St. Joseph's College, at Memramcook, is his monument.

The traveller on the Intercolonial Railway, shortly after passing Moncton on his way to Halifax, sees on rising ground to the right a group of large buildings bare and unattractive in exterior, it must be admitted, but the home of a very remarkable educational work. Here Père Lefebvre toiled for more than thirty years. His biographer discusses seriously the question whether the beloved priest had the power of working miracles, and this indicates the esteem in which he was held by his people. The college of St. Joseph has a noble record of usefulness. The Acadians, thirty years ago a people without spirit, almost without hope, are to-day very nearly on a social level with their English neighbours. The learned professions and legislative bodies contain many of their representatives. The priests of the college paid especial attention to agriculture. The people were docile, and have improved rapidly. The region is one of the richest in agricultural possibilities in America. The meadow land on the lower level produces its rich crop year after year with little assistance from man. Once in a quarter of a century, perhaps, the waters of the Bay of Fundy, which contain fertilizing deposits, are allowed to submerge these low-lying lands for some months, and they will then yield their crop uninterruptedly for another twenty-five years. The outer aspects of the country are not attractive. The land has been denuded of trees. The cottages are bare in appearance, but scrupulously clean, and more comfortable than the homes of the poorer *habitants* in the province of Quebec.

M. Poirier's life of Père Lefebvre is full of anecdote, but he might have said more about the social condition of the Acadians. They have preserved their Catholic faith, as have the Indians in the Maritime provinces, notwithstanding the Church's neglect of them in earlier years. M. Poirier tells us that the Indians are as numerous now as they were when the French first came to the country, a statement that will surprise those who think that the native races are dying out. He adds

too that these Indians are to a man adherents of the Church of Rome. There are important Acadian settlements in Nova Scotia, and the work of the Eudist Fathers at Church Point, Nova Scotia, is described in this volume. They have established a college; and the present writer, visiting this college recently, found that it was conducted by educated gentlemen from France, knowing little English, and devoted entirely to their work in this isolated region. The Fathers at St. Joseph's College, Memramcook, are mostly from French Canada. They have less polish than have the Eudist Fathers at Church Point; but their work is no less effective among a rude people on that account. It is curious to read of the keen interest of these Acadians in the Franco-German war. Prayers for France were offered in the churches. M. Poirier does not conceal his affection for the country of his fathers. He hopes that France may remain great, because he hopes too that in the New World his compatriots will rear a civilization modelled upon that of old France. His volume is frankly anti-Protestant in tone; yet he writes fairly of the English, a virtue when one remembers what his Acadian ancestors suffered at their hands.

The New Brunswick Magazine (St. John: Reynolds) is a new venture in the field of Canadian historical publications, its first volume, just completed, having been begun in July. Its scope includes the history, topography, natural history, bibliography, etc., of the Maritime provinces. The clear type and broad margins give a pleasing appearance to the pages; and within the range of provincial interests some good work has already been contributed. The operations of an American trading company under the personal direction of two of its partners, James Simonds and James White, form the thread of Rev. W. O. Raymond's articles entitled *At Portland Point*. Five thousand acres were secured at Portland Point, on the St. John river, in the autumn of 1765. One of the chief reasons which led to this selection was the presence of rich limestone beds, affording the material for the manufacture and exportation of lime, which formed one of the main industries of the

labourers settled by this trading company on the site of the future city of St. John. The correspondence of Simonds and White tends to dispel the prevalent idea with regard to "old-fashioned winters" in so far as New Brunswick is concerned, river navigation opening then, as now, early in April, and repeated mention being made of scarcity of snow. The writer frequently turns aside from the affairs of the company to enter upon questions of genealogy, creation of counties, provincial politics, etc. The articles are, in fact, somewhat diffuse, but give a vivid portrayal of the conditions of early settlement—Simonds and White's employees usually received 2s. 6d. per day, and boarded themselves—and of the class of difficulties which enterprising business men of that date had to overcome. Mr. Percy G. Hall, under the heading *A Misplaced Genius*, records the career of a citizen of St. John named Robert Foulis, who under provincial authority surveyed the St. John River from Fredericton to Grand Falls with a view to testing its suitability for steamboat traffic. The map prepared by him as a result of this survey appears still to be referred to as an authority. Dr. W. F. Ganong compares the intention of the treaty of 1793 with the settlement made by the Ashburton treaty in regard to the boundary line between New Brunswick and Maine. He concludes, from a study of last century documents, that this line was admitted by both parties at that time to extend to the southern watershed of the St. Lawrence basin. By the Ashburton treaty, however, the line was terminated at the St. John River, Canada being enriched by the territory stretching northward thence to the watershed. Other interesting subjects are treated in the first volume of this magazine of which mention cannot be made here. If the periodical keeps up its present standard, it will prove a valuable agent in preserving a knowledge of historical events in far-eastern Canada.

Dr. William F. Ganong publishes in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada the third of his contributions to the history of New Brunswick. It is entitled *A Monograph of the Cartography of the Province of New Brunswick*. The mono-

graph fills one hundred and fifteen pages of the Transactions, and next to the Cabot discussion, is the most important article in the volume. Dr. Ganong says with exultation that to him belongs the glory of opening up the subject. This is the first published work on the cartography of New Brunswick. Nothing could illustrate better the truth that "the discovery of America was a gradual process," than the description here given of the slow growth of information regarding these shores. New Brunswick has two coasts, one on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, one on the Bay of Fundy. Dr. Ganong divides the progress of information into seven periods. The first is that before Cartier's voyage in 1534. Old maps relating to this period are, of course, very scarce, and he attributes this scarcity to the peculiar difficulty of preserving maps. "Don't try to find a convenient way to keep maps; there isn't any," he quotes from a manual of "Don't's" for librarians, and many old maps have perished in consequence of this difficulty. The work of Jacques Cartier in relation to cartography is most important. His observations, chronicled in his own narrative, are accurate, and it has been possible to identify nearly every feature that he describes. Much attention indeed has been given to this work, and Dr. Ganong complains that the historians have not yet appreciated it.

"It is striking how slowly the results of investigation upon special subjects gain a place in general works. The amount of technical literature is becoming so enormous that general writers cannot work over it all, and continue to take most of their facts from older standard works, which, no matter how excellent in general, are apt to be wrong in detail. Though Cartier's course has been made clear, the newer historians still repeat old errors. Some new device is needed to force on the attention of general writers the results of new research."

Dr. Ganong notes a curious fact, that between Cartier and Champlain, seventy years after, the maps grew steadily worse. No new information was forthcoming, and copyists of Cartier had fallen into many errors. Champlain is a great name in cartography. He depended entirely on his own accurate knowledge, and was not afraid to confess ignorance on many points. He sweeps away, too, nearly all of the names that Cartier had applied in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is unnecessary to review

here the further chronicle of the slow and halting development of knowledge regarding the shores of New Brunswick. Dr. Ganong describes it with literary skill and entirely adequate scholarship. He promises a further study of the boundaries of New Brunswick, and this will bring up the famous controversy settled by the Ashburton treaty. Dr. Ganong tells us now that the Americans were, he believes, wholly justified in claiming, in 1842, that the United States boundary extended northward to within a few miles of the St. Lawrence. He thinks that the treaty of 1783 distinctly ceded this territory to the new United States, and that not Lord Ashburton but the framers of that treaty are responsible for what is, from a Canadian standpoint, the deplorable fact that a spur of United States territory now unnaturally divides the province of Quebec from the province of New Brunswick. Dr. Ganong has spent upon this work immense labour, deserving of generous recognition.

The late Reverend George Patterson has in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada a short paper on *The Termination of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Expedition*. He gives a contemporaneous explanation of Gilbert's sailing in the smallest of his vessels, the *Squirrel*, a craft of only ten tons. It was that he might the more readily explore the shallower places on the coasts he visited. Some time before Gilbert himself was lost, the *Delight*, one of his vessels, had been wrecked with the loss of nearly a hundred persons, on August 29th 1583. Dr. Douglas Brymner in a recent paper on Gilbert assumed that the *Delight* was wrecked on Sable Island. Dr. Patterson now gives reasons for thinking that she was wrecked on the coast of Cape Breton, in fact in the well-known harbour of Louisbourg. The point is not of much importance, and Dr. Patterson's arguments are not entirely convincing. Why should a ship be beaten to pieces by the waves on a soft bottom in a harbour almost land-locked? Undoubtedly a cannon, apparently of English sixteenth-century make, was found on the shores of the harbour, but to connect this with the *Delight* is very hazardous. Dr. Patterson has a second paper, *Supplementary Notes on Sable*

Island, based mainly on the report of the Dominion Archivist for 1895. The *Francis*, carrying the equipage of the Duke of Kent, was wrecked on the island in 1799. Thirty-eight persons were lost. One woman was washed to shore. The men who found the body declared that the woman was dead when they found her, that she had a ring on her finger, which they were unable to remove, and that she was buried with the ring. Tradition says that the woman was not dead, that she recovered consciousness when a wrecker tried to remove the ring, that he killed her, and that in Nova Scotia afterwards he was haunted until his death by the vision of the murdered woman. Dr. Patterson believes that the ring was traced to Nova Scotia and recovered.

Dr. Grant, of Queen's University, Kingston, writes in the *Canadian Magazine* for October, on *Newfoundland and Canada*. The concession to Frenchmen of fishing rights on the Newfoundland shore, which are proving a fruitful source of trouble to-day, was protested against at the time by British commercial men. "They knew that the fishery was a source of wealth to their enemy, and the chief nursery of her seamen; so on national as well as commercial grounds they opposed the concessions, but in vain." Looking forward, as he does, to the ultimate incorporation of Newfoundland with the Dominion, Dr. Grant advises Canadians to extend their information concerning the island in preparation for that event, and recommends particularly Judge Prowse's *History of Newfoundland*. In the same issue Mr. P. T. McGrath, under the heading *Some Recent Premiers of Newfoundland*, gives portraits of a number of the island's premiers, with some slight biographical data.

(2) The Province of Quebec

Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon, par J. Edmond Roy.
Deuxième volume. Lévis: en vente chez l'auteur, 1898.
Pp. 416, lxii, v.

M. Roy's book is one to be put on the shelf for reference, rather than to be read. His first volume, recording the earliest settlements in the interesting Seigneurie lying across the river from the city of Quebec, contained more narrative than does the present one. He is oppressed by a wealth of material. Probably in no country in the world are there more complete records for local history than in the province of Quebec. The central place of record is of course the church, which in a large degree absorbs the public spirit and interest of each community. The church indeed stands for the communal life. It is the connecting link between the various interests in the locality. Those great fabrics which rise in such large numbers in all parts of the country are more closely associated with daily life than are the churches in a Protestant country. The affection of the people for the Church as a social institution, apart even from religious dogma, is very great. Births, marriages, deaths, the three most important events in human society, are closely linked with the Church's life. She has preserved the most accurate records of these and other events, and M. Roy has turned to her for his principal material. With the French-Canadian instinct for genealogy he elaborates the history of families to the last detail. He can give the name of every settler within the Seigneurie at almost any period of its history. He sketches the life of each curé, and even gives an extended catalogue of the library of one. Hardly the name of a church-warden or of a pew-holder has escaped him.

It is obvious that information so full has mainly a local interest. We are able, however, to glean from this volume some details of feudal life in Canada. In France the feudal seigneur was entitled to sit in the place of honour in the church, to have his arms emblazoned there, and his name mentioned in the

prayer before the sermon. Canadian feudalism had similar customs. Sometimes before traditions were fixed, and relative rank authoritatively determined, there were disputes between rival claimants for these honours of the Church. M. Roy gives many not edifying particulars about these disputes. It is more pleasing to follow the seigneur in his relations with his vassals. He has his mill at which they grind their corn, his oven where their bread is baked, his tannery, even his shop where they buy their necessities. Although the seigneur's poverty prevented his maintaining any considerable degree of state, there was yet a social gulf between him and his vassals. At Point Lévy the Seigneur de Lauzon lived in a large stone mansion. In the great chamber the walls were hung with tapestry. In the centre stood a table of wild cherry wood with twisted legs, and an arm-chair of the same wood covered with green serge. Around the room were six chairs with plush-covered seats, and four foot-stools of the same kind, a clock in a tall walnut case, and a large mirror with gilded frame and glass twenty-two inches high and sixteen in width. Green serge curtains at the windows softened the light. At the end stood the great bed of the seigneur, its framework of cherry half hidden under curtains of green serge hanging from a canopy. The mattresses are of softest down and the coverlets are skins of the caribou. On each side of the chimney, an immense cavern where maple logs blaze, are two cupboards built into the wall. In one is kept the linen for table use, cloths and napkins from the looms of Rouen, Beaufort or Herbi; in the other, blue and white porcelain and a large Indian tea service with eight cups. Near the house were the water-mill and wind-mill, the ice-house, the dove-cote, the farm buildings and stables. It was in the great chamber that the seigneur received his vassals. Dressed in coat and breeches of fine cloth with gold buttons, black wool stockings from Paris, lace ruffles and muslin cravat, he had an altogether grand air. The peasants approached with reverence, but he was able to infuse so much kindness into his relations with these good people, whom he had seen for the most part grow up about him, that the ice was soon broken. Each one

told his anxieties and troubles, and he inquired with careful interest into their work and their plans for the future. His counsels, always prudent, were well received.

The year 1759 was for French Canada, as M. Roy says, "l'année terrible." Overwhelming English forces were closing in from three sides on the colony. In the spring of this year, when it was known that ships bearing Wolfe's army were to sail up the St. Lawrence, the Church ordered special litanies on a given day in each month. To these services the settlers came in crowds. When the English fleet drew near the inhabitants were ordered to leave their houses and to take refuge in the woods. The whole coast for nearly a hundred miles from Rivière du Loup to Quebec was abandoned during five long months. The people of the Seigneurie de Lauzon living near the river became refugees in the neighbouring forests, and their churches and houses were left empty. The English soon occupied Point Lévy, and from it kept up a pitiless bombardment of Quebec. It cannot be said that M. Roy has told the story of those eventful days with dramatic power. He follows with patriotic zeal the sufferings of his compatriots at that time, and furnishes details which must have pathetic interest for their descendants. What is remarkable in his narrative is the entire absence of any bitterness against the English conqueror.

When Canada fell, the Seigneurie de Lauzon had been for one hundred years in the possession of the family Charest. M. Dufoy-Charest had distinguished himself as a naval volunteer in the war with the English. Like so many of the French nobles, officials, and merchants in Canada, he could not reconcile himself to English domination. His services, besides, gave him some hope of promotion in France. He removed thither himself but soon died; his family in Canada decided to retire likewise to the mother country. M. Roy is of the opinion that not a single descendant of the old seigneurs of Lauzon is to be found in Canada at the present day. The Seigneurie was sold and the purchaser was General Murray, the administrator of the Government after the conquest. Murray was an insatiable speculator in land. He bought vast quantities in Canada, and,

it must be added, at the prices at which the French owners were willing to sell. It is at this point that M. Roy's second volume ends. The succeeding study of feudalism under English domination cannot fail to be interesting.

Le Sault-au-Récollet. Ses Rapports avec les Premiers Temps de la Colonie. Mission-Paroisse. Par Charles P. Beaubien. Montreal: C. O. Beauchemin, 1898. Pp. 505.

The reader of this work is prepared by its title-page for an ecclesiastical sketch of Sault-au-Récollet, but he could not infer therefrom that the narrative reached so recent a date as 1894. However, M. Beaubien is quite correct when indicating at the outset that his principal subject is the early colonial period. The chapters which relate to the years 1763-1894, while they possess a certain local value, must yield place in general interest to their predecessors. That is in no way the author's fault. Sault-au-Récollet has steadily declined in relative importance since the opening of the eighteenth century. Its picturesque name survives, and latterly it has enjoyed the doubtful advantage of furnishing *gens de pique-nique* from Montreal with an objective point. Some ecclesiastical activity is still maintained there, but the place is no longer an outpost of higher civilization.

M. Beaubien's history of his parish claims attention for several reasons. It illustrates the continued zeal of the French-Canadian clergy for their national annals; it is based on good sources; and in most respects it is well done. One cannot help feeling from the first that its aim is edification, rather than the simple statement of historical fact. An exchange of compliments between the author and Mgr. Bruchesi, Archbishop of Montreal, precedes the preface, and flowers of rhetoric abound wherever there is the least excuse for them. Persons of subdued and chastened taste may find many of these passages over-exuberant, or even regard them in the light of padding. We shall certainly acquit them of the latter charge and consider

them as the product of one who has been reared in the literary school of Chateaubriand and has learned history from Garneau and Ferland. As an example of the rhetorical excursions just mentioned we cite a passage which is suggested by the legends of Sault-au-Récollet.

"Qu'elles soient vraies ou douteuses, ces traditions, elles accusent quand même chez nous un souvenir qui ne meurt pas, une pensée de reconnaissance qui passe d'un coeur à l'autre, vrai culte des patriotiques exploits, des immenses sacrifices, des morts de héros, trame mystérieuse et sacrée de gloire, se perpétuant sainte et vivace au sein de nos campagnes."

The parish of Sault-au-Récollet is situated on the Rivière des Prairies, that lower stretch of the Ottawa which flows along the northern shore of Montreal Island. This stream became a thoroughfare of missionaries and converted Indians in the early days of French colonization, owing to the fact that the Iroquois did not employ it. Brébeuf writing in 1632 says, "Il est vrai que le chemin est plus court par le Sault Saint-Louis et par le lac des Iroquois, mais la crainte des ennemis et le peu de commodité qui s'y rencontre, en rend le passage desert." In the Rivière des Prairies Father Nicolas Viel was drowned by Hurons who had undertaken to convoy him homewards and thus the glamour encompassing an act of martyrdom has hovered about the region ever since. Drawing largely from Champlain, Sagard, Le Clercq and the Jesuit Relations, M. Beaubien connects his own parish with the missionary enterprises of the two religious orders principally concerned. Its points of contact with both Quebec and Ville Marie (Montreal) are well indicated, its leading families and individuals are traced through parish registers, and whatever concerns the Church is emphasized with loyal, enthusiastic and affectionate devotion. Similarly whatever resembles an attack upon the clergy arouses hearty indignation.

Apart from the early traders who sold fire-water to the Indians, the chief target of M. Beaubien's hostile reflections is Miss Alice Baker, the authoress of "True Stories of New England Captives carried to Canada." (See Vol. II of this Review, p. 44). In considering the question of French raids into New England, with the subsequent treatment of captives, Miss Baker

reached the conclusion that direct and sometimes excessive influence was brought to bear by the priests upon adults, but more particularly upon children, in the hope that they might be converted from Protestantism. This view M. Beaubien challenges with considerable ire, as may be judged from the following introductory passage :

"Les récits mensongers et calomnieux ne sont plus seulement consignés dans de vieux auteurs, un nouveau livre vient de paraître. Il a pour titre: "*The Stories of New England Captives*" (A. Baker), que je traduirai: *Les histoires de Mlle. A. Baker des Captifs de la Nouvelle-Angleterre*. L'auteur, sous un dehors de respect et de reconnaissance pour les protecteurs des captifs, n'hésite pas à accumuler les assertions les plus fausses. "Un pareil ouvrage remplit l'âme de dégoût à la fin d'un siècle qui se pique de tant de tolérance, et surtout quand on le voit apparaître sur le sol des États-Unis, si fier de ses idées de liberté."

M. Beaubien particularly assails Miss Baker on the ground that she has distorted evidence relating to the case of Eunice Williams, and even urges that the documents which she uses prove the falsehood of her charges against the Jesuits of Caughnawaga. The circumstances are somewhat as follows. On February 29th, 1704, when Deerfield was raided, this girl, seven years of age, fell to the share of a Mohawk belonging to the settlement of St. Louis, or Caughnawaga, opposite Lachine. By him she was reared, and the Jesuits resident at the mission sought, as Miss Baker states, to secure her conversion. The passage against which M. Beaubien inveighs, begins thus :

"It is a mournful picture. The Jesuit with his slouched hat looped up at the sides, in a long black cassock, a rosary at his waist and a scourge in his hand. The timid English girl, scion of a grand old Puritan stock, cowering in abject terror on her knees before him. Rebaptized Margaret, with the sign of the cross on her brow and bosom, Eunice is alternately threatened with punishment and allured with promises. She is told of her father's conversion, frightened with pictures of fiends tormenting the souls of little children, and beaten for refusing to make the sign of the cross."

Owing doubtless to her youth resistance was overcome. She accepted Catholicism, married an Indian and declined every chance of return offered until she was past thirty-six years old. As an adult woman she visited Deerfield three times, but would not remain there. M. Beaubien errs in affirming that "les documents mêmes cités par l'auteur prouvent qu'elle visita son endroit natal plusieurs fois et qu'elle préféra revenir au Canada pour y épouser un Indien, et y vivre jusqu'à l'âge de

quatre-vingt-trois ans." The visits were made after her marriage. "At the time of Eunice's memorable visit to Deerfield children had been born to her, and to the maternal instinct, the strongest passion of which the human soul is capable, even filial affection must yield." Moreover Miss Baker gives the age of her death as ninety, not eighty-three.

Concerning the main point we may say that Miss Baker's language seems rather highly coloured, but the case of Samuel Williams (*vide* "The Redeemed Captive"), and other similar ones, bear out the assertion that pressure was carried past the point of purely moral suasion. Clerical influence was hardly brought to bear with more directness in the Meath election of 1892. It may be added that assuming the correctness of M. Beaubien's position, such language as this resembles the bludgeon rather than the Damascus blade: "Et puis, pour complément d'insanité, l'auteur ajoute que les prêtres l'empêchèrent de recouvrer sa liberté en prétendant que ce ne serait pas humain de 'séparer la captive de son maître, qu'elle aimait comme un père.'"

This book is well printed, and though some of the woodcuts seem a trifle imaginary, it is also well illustrated.

Saint-Laurent et Saguenay—Les Femmes du Canada Français: I. Etablissements de Charité—Au Canada: L'Education et la Société. Par Th. Bentzon. (Revue des Deux Mondes, 1 Avril, 15 Mai, 15 Juillet, 1898.)

The *Revue des Deux Mondes* has contained during the course of the year a series of articles upon Canada by the accomplished lady who signs herself "Th. Bentzon." The first of them, appearing in the issue of April 1st, is entitled *Saint-Laurent et Saguenay*. Like all foreign visitors Madame Bentzon made the usual "Saguenay trip" by water from Quebec. She is a most appreciative traveller in some respects, and does justice to the amplitude of beauty on the lower St. Lawrence, as well as to the grandeurs of the mysterious

Saguenay. It is not only the romance of nature for which she has a soul. The early colonization of Canada and the stories of privation and self-devotion associated with the shores of the two great rivers are always before her mind. She sees the past through the present, and by preference. For the great lumbering industry of the Saguenay, established by that remarkable colonist, Mr. William Price, she has a respectful tolerance, but only impatience and contempt for the salmon-nursery established by the Government at Tadousac. She turns away to linger about the old chapel and its legendary bell, and the rococo figure of the child Jesus, that was sent out by devout ladies of France in the time of the Grand Monarch. There is one special feature of Lower Canadian history that seems to have a peculiar fascination for her; to a Frenchwoman, accustomed in her own country to see traces everywhere of the great upheaval of the French Revolution and the resultant cleavage between the old and the new, the unbroken continuity of civil order and organization must appear both strange and attractive. She repeatedly refers to the long series of generations in possession of farms and estates, and to the parochial registers with their entries going back for two hundred years. It is all as if there had been no French Revolution, or perhaps as if she had slipped into a state of existence antedating that great convulsion of the world. It is evidently under the influence of this impression that in terminating a subsequent article she salutes Canada as "New France, now become Old France."

The second paper by Madame Bentzon is called *Les Femmes du Canada Français, I. Établissements de Charité*. It is an admirable and sympathetic account of various convents, refuges and hospitals under control of religious bodies, both in Montreal and Quebec. The immense influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the province of Quebec is obvious to everyone acquainted with the country, and in no way are its resources more beneficently exercised than in supporting charitable and philanthropic work. The author's account of the institutions visited by her is quickened by the portraits she gives of the

noble women of the past as well as of the present who have taken a leading part in these efforts. There is one hasty generalization which must not be allowed to pass unchallenged. The author asserts that attempts to civilize the Indian inhabitants of Canada have invariably failed, and she contrasts the want of success in Canada with the triumph of similar efforts in the United States. If any general statement is admissible on the subject the exact contrary is nearer the truth, and Canada's success in dealing with the aborigines may be said to stand much higher than that of her southern neighbour. But the truth is not susceptible of such simple statement. The Indians of the continent are not homogeneous in race characteristics, nor were they in a uniform state of civilization when the white colonists began to have intercourse with them. In certain parts of Canada marked progress has been made in taming the Indians and in starting them on an upward path of moral and material prosperity. It is enough to mention the settlements of Indians at New Credit, near Brantford, Ontario, and that at Oka in the lower province, as examples of the degree of civilization that Indians in Canada are capable of. Another very dubious inference of Madame Bentzon is that the French-Canadian *habitant* has been largely affected by intercourse with the Indians in the direction of nomadic life. She cites the annual exodus of French-Canadian farm-labourers to the neighbouring New England States as a proof, treating it as a survival among them of the restless wandering tendencies of the *coureurs des bois*. A more satisfactory explanation of this annual tide of emigration is the economic condition of farming in Quebec, which compels the surplus of the rural population to seek for work and wages outside the limits of their own province.

A third paper by Madame Bentzon is entitled *Au Canada: L'Education et la Société*. This is the least satisfactory of the three, for the reason that the author is here taking up an inquiry beyond the limits of her experience. When she is describing the scenery of the Saguenay or the condition of the numerous charitable institutions that she beheld with her own eyes, the record of her impressions is both interesting and valu-

able; but a disquisition on the state of education and society in Canada which leaves out of account not only all of Canada that is not the province of Quebec, but all of the province of Quebec that is not French and Roman Catholic, cannot be an adequate treatment of the subject. The Ville-Marie convent at Montreal and that of the Ursulines at Quebec are described in detail and present a charming picture of the convent life of the young girls who receive their education there. An interesting account is also given of the system of instruction at the École Normale Laval at Quebec, where the teachers of the primary schools throughout the province are trained. The practical teaching in drawing is one of its chief features. The art is applied to such base uses as, in the teaching of boys, the designing of buildings and furniture, and in that of girls, dress-patterns, with a result that the practical sense of the young folks of both sexes is enlisted and they enter with interest into a subject of study that leads to material benefits. The conservative tendencies of French-Canadians and the encouragement of them by the Roman Catholic Church are deplored by the author in one respect alone. She remarks with astonishment upon the number of books that it is forbidden to read. "I never suspected," she says, "that so many works of literature were on the Index. There is nothing more empty and forlorn than a book-shop at Quebec, except perhaps one at Montreal." She notes signs of a change, however, and mentions with approval a movement towards increased intellectual activity among the ladies of Montreal.

It must be mentioned, by way of caution, that the author's knowledge of Canadian history is confined chiefly to ecclesiastical annals of the period of French rule. Her remarks upon the events of a later time are lamentably incorrect, and, for any indication she gives of it, Canada, west of the Ottawa River, might still be the howling wilderness that it was in the time of Champlain. It is humiliating to find Toronto so completely ignored, as in the sentence where she explains how Ottawa came to be the capital of the Dominion. She gives the respective populations of Quebec, Montreal and Ottawa, and

then adds: "The choice of Ottawa was made simply in order to prevent discussion of rival claims between the old historic city [Quebec] and the great commercial centre [Montreal], which has also its annals of glory." The same complete ignorance of the existence of an English-speaking sister province and its influence on French Canada, is shown in the following sentence, summarizing Canadian history since 1763:

"It was to its great lawyers . . . that Canada owed the concessions extorted one by one from the English Government, after the terrible period of conquest and repression, during the great parliamentary struggle that lasted forty-five years. In 1840 the inheritance of their ancestors seemed doomed to destruction. These men, by their eloquence alone, obtained the restoration of French as the official language, the responsibility of the Ministry to the Chambers, the abolition of seigneurial tenure, autonomous government as far as the separate interests of the province of Quebec are concerned; in fact, all the prerogatives which have given Canadians their share of influence in the affairs of their country."

It would be idle to point out all the inaccuracies in this sentence, and most of them are due to the one-sided view of Canada and Canadians as co-extensive with Quebec and the French-Canadians. The English-speaking Canadians were by no means a negligible quantity in any of the constitutional reforms carried through in the last sixty years, and the political struggle in which the Canadians, French and English alike, were engaged, was more hotly parliamentary, perhaps, in Upper than in Lower Canada. With this regret for Madame Bentzon's ignorance of history and anti-English prejudices, we may still be glad that an able writer has thought it worth while to give these appreciative sketches to the world in the pages of so great and influential a review as the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. From the titles of the articles it would seem that they are but fragments of a larger work which we may hope to see published later in book-form.

Mr. St. Amant, in *L'Avenir, Townships de Durham et de Wickham* (Arthabaskaville: Imprimerie de l'Echo des Bois-francs, 1896[-98]), has produced a thick volume on these two townships of the County of Drummond, L'Avenir being the name of a village situated in one of them. Except for the scattered huts of a few squatters there was no settlement in

this district until 1815, when a portion of the English regiments disbanded in Canada after the war of 1812 received free grants of land in the valley of the St. Francois river. Their leader was Colonel or General Herriot, who had distinguished himself during the war by winning the fight at Chrysler's Farm. Mr. St. Amant devotes a considerable portion of his book to the careers of the various missionary priests and *cures*, and to the ecclesiastical affairs of the settlement generally. After General Herriot, the most distinguished inhabitant of the County of Drummond was undoubtedly Monsieur J. B. E. Dorion, surnamed "l'Enfant-terrible," who made his first appearance there in 1853, and represented the county in the Legislature of the old Province of Canada, with only one interruption, from 1854 until his death in 1866. His readiness in debate and his cleverness as a journalist soon made him conspicuous among the French-Canadian members, but he held extreme views which prevented him from obtaining office in any ministry. He was opposed to ecclesiastical endowments, and thus drew upon himself the enmity of the Roman Catholic Church; he openly advocated annexation to the United States, and protested to the last against the confederation of the provinces in a Dominion of Canada. Mr. St. Amant, although disagreeing entirely with these opinions of Dorion's, has succeeded in giving a very agreeable and sympathetic account of his career. Except for the biographical sketch of Dorion the book is hardly more than a collection of notes on the past inhabitants and events of the district, grouped to some extent according to topic. The author's industry has brought together a quantity of details from the parish records and other documentary sources which will be of use to a future historian, but it is unfortunate that he has not been more liberal in giving *verbatim* extracts from the registers to which he has had access. It is disconcerting to find that semi-legendary stories current among the present inhabitants, and the author's own comments and inferences, are mixed up with the facts that rest on documentary evidence, as if all alike were of historical value and interest.

The Legends of the St. Lawrence, by Sir James M. Le Moine (Quebec: Holiwell), is an agreeable miscellany of historical and legendary lore relating to the province of Quebec. The author and half a dozen companions made a cruise in the yacht *Hirondelle* from Montreal to Gaspé, and filled up the abundant leisure of the voyage with discourse and anecdote about the towns, villages and historic sites they passed. Poetry also found a place, in the recitation of Canadian folk-songs. The book is supposed to be a faithful report of their conversations, and is really a gossip guide-book to the river St. Lawrence. The author has all the history and antiquities of his native province in his head, and nobody could be a more instructive companion than he on such a cruise. The numerous legends are hardly as entertaining as the history. Perhaps the most striking is that which represents the devil as assisting in the form of a black horse of surprising strength, to haul stone for the erection of a church. Why he should have been so anxious to build a church quickly is not explained by the legend.

The little volume, *Dr. Jacques Labrie*, by the Abbé Auguste Gosselin (Lévis: Roy, 1898), is a record of the career of an earnest pioneer of education among the French-Canadians, in the first thirty years of the present century. The learned author is an enthusiastic patriot, and describes in superlatives the work of his hero. French Canada, he thinks, was better provided with educational facilities in the early part of this century than was France. Labrie, a physician in active practice, founded schools, championed the cause of education in the Assembly of which he was a member, and wrote for it in the press. It is interesting to see that he was an ardent supporter of the British connection. He translated a book, for the instruction of his countrymen, on the principles of the British Constitution. The American Revolutionary war, and the part played in it by France, had roused hopes in French Canada of reunion with the mother country. These hopes were blasted by the Treaty of Versailles, in 1783, and the outbreak of the revolution in France with its anti-clerical propaganda drew the

French-Canadians more and more closely to Great Britain. Labrie told his countrymen that they were much happier under Great Britain than they would have been as a part of the Napoleonic Empire. He took part in the struggle against the United States in 1812. In politics he was a Liberal, a friend of Papineau, and this in later years brought upon him official disapproval. A busy man, he yet found time to write a history of Canada, which our author thinks entitles him to be called the Canadian Livy. This history has a curious story. The Legislature of Lower Canada voted in 1832, after Labrie's death, a sum for its publication. Of this sum the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was the custodian. Unexplained delay followed, and in the rebellion of 1838, when St. Benoit was burned, the precious manuscript was destroyed by fire. No doubt this is a real loss to the historical literature of Canada, for Labrie was an able writer.

La Vie de Joseph François Perrault, by P. B. Casgrain, Q.C. (Quebec: Darveau), contains the subject's own lively account of his adventures as a young man amongst the Indians in the Ohio valley, together with an appreciative tribute from the president of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec to M. Perrault's valuable labours in connection with elementary education in Lower Canada. M. Casgrain reckons that towards the close of the last century not more than a dozen in each Canadian parish could read and write. In the beginning of the present century the Government did indeed bestir itself to remove this reproach; and an annual appropriation of £2,000 was voted for the maintenance of public schools. But the French-Canadians held aloof from a Protestant scheme, and their children in too many cases continued to grow up without school training. M. Perrault was one of the most active laymen to stir the people to help themselves in this matter. In 1821 the Educational Association for the District of Quebec was founded, with M. Perrault as its president. Under his presidency the society had the distinction of providing the only free Catholic school of its time at Quebec. By 1830 its work

had become so important as to win governmental aid. In this year a primary school for boys, erected and equipped at M. Perrault's expense, was opened in Quebec, with merely nominal fees, or in many cases none at all. The curriculum included the three R's in the morning, with gardening or the making of farm implements in the afternoon. A year later a similar school for girls was provided by him in the same quarter of the city, spinning, weaving and needlework being substituted for the more masculine manual training. Both of these schools met with such approbation as to have money grants voted them by the legislature. M. Perrault devised other educational schemes, including a model farm, which, however, he was unable to realize. It speaks well for his earnestness and public spirit that he accomplished what he did on the limited income of a simple law officer. The printing of the volume has been carefully done; but here praise as to externals must end. The illustrations, paper and binding all have a cheap effect unworthy of a volume designed to perpetuate the memory of an honoured citizen.

The *Memoir of Thomas Sterry Hunt*, by Mr. James Douglas (Philadelphia: MacCalla), is a well-written tribute to the memory of Sir William Logan's chief assistant in the pioneer days of the Geological Survey of Canada. Hunt was born at Norwich, Conn., and served successively in a printing office, a chemist's, a bookseller's and a grocer's shop. His chemical tastes attracted the attention of Professor Silliman, of Yale, and he entered that university. It is interesting in these days of luxury to see that this struggling student paid in 1845 \$1.25 a week for board. There was, he complains, "little or no meat," and he lodged in a loft of the chemical laboratory amidst bottles and packages. In 1846, on the strong recommendation of the two Sillimans and others, he was appointed, though only twenty, to the Geological Survey of Canada. His chemical knowledge was of great service to Sir William Logan. He was a good geologist, and Mr. Douglas claims for him in addition mathematical and poetical gifts. His temper was

somewhat impracticable, otherwise he would probably have succeeded Logan as head of the Survey. Mr. Douglas's valuable bibliography shows how productive was Hunt's scientific energy. To make reproduction of bank-notes impossible he invented a green ink which would not lend itself to photography. This was known as the "Canada bank-note printing ink," and to its use were due the famous "greenbacks." In Canada Hunt reaped some profit for his invention; in the United States, where it was used on an enormous scale for paper money during the civil war, he got almost nothing. He was a professor for a time in Laval University, and he joined and afterwards left the Roman Catholic Church. His domestic life was not happy, and he died alone in New York in 1892. Mr. Douglas deserves the thanks of men of science as well as of Canadians for his discriminating sketch of a career which should not be forgotten.

M. Benjamin Sulte writes on the *Historical and Miscellaneous Literature of Quebec, 1764-1830*, in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada. His contention is that there was a marked literary development among the French in Canada during this period. At the conquest, he thinks there were not more than sixty thousand books in Canada in all, or a single book for every person in the colony. The *Quebec Gazette* began publication in 1764. At the beginning of the present century there were rival newspapers in both Quebec and Montreal, and their polemics were sometimes animated. A public library had been founded in Quebec in 1785, which has since ceased to exist, for now there is no public library there worthy of the name. Literary societies flourished in the second decade of the present century. M. Sulte writes this paper in English. His native tongue is French, and he illustrates the perils of using familiarly a language other than one's own. We have "toilers of the soil," "a public library . . . kept well for a long period of years," "a person of good society," etc. Sir James M. LeMoine, in the same Transactions, writes on *Materials for Canadian History*, and emphasizes

the importance of studying municipal and parochial records. He gives a useful bibliographical list of works on local history relating to the province of Quebec.

In *La Langue Française en Canada*, M. Benjamin Sulte combats the prevalent opinion that the language spoken by French-Canadians is a mere patois, corrupt in pronunciation and vocabulary. He even suggests the paradox that correct French, the French of Molière, Racine and La Fontaine, is only now to be heard in Canada, and that it is Parisian French that is really the degenerate patois. The history of the French colonization of Canada shows that the first stratum of population was almost wholly composed of emigrants from Normandy, Picardy and Ile-de-France; that is, from the northern provinces, the home of the *langue d'oïl*. Passages are cited from La Potherie and other visitors to the colony at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century to prove the absence of any provincial accent at that time. How then to account for the peculiar intonation and accent of the present day? All modern travellers from France remark upon the resemblance of French-Canadian to the dialect of Normandy. Since there has been no appreciable influx of Norman peasantry into Canada since the eighteenth century, the inference is clear that the language of the French Court, and of the literary circles at Paris during the reign of the Grand Monarch, must have approximated to the Normandy dialect. But even later, it may be asserted on the authority of a grammar issued in 1774 at Paris, some of the characteristics of Canadian French were found in ordinary colloquial use in the most cultivated society, such as the pronunciation *frét* for *froid*, and the elision of *l* in *il* or *ils*. The testimony of so many witnesses cannot be doubted, and it is evident that while French of France has changed greatly since the Revolution, Canada has been a stronghold of conservatism in this respect, as in so many others. M. Sulte points with pride to the fact that many words and expressions unknown to Parisians but in common use with his compatriots are found in the classical

authors and in the dictionary of the French Academy. That Anglicisms have crept into Canadian French is undeniable, but these are paralleled by the wholesale adoption of English words into Parisian French. The author's conclusion is that French-Canadian is entitled to be recognized as a form of French which may be used by people of education and refinement, and that its peculiarities are not those of patois at all. M. Sulte's treatment of his subject is rather desultory, and some statements as to the authorization of French for official purposes after the English occupation are not much to the point; but on the whole he makes out a strong case, and his examination of the question has been very thorough.

The province of Quebec is in some respects, like Oxford, the home of lost causes. The well printed volume *Discours et Conférences*, by the Hon. Thomas Chapais (Quebec: Demers, 1898), is even more interesting for what it implies, than for what it says. It implies that the cause of France in the new world is not lost, and that a great French nation will yet take a leading place upon the American continent. The volume consists of speeches made by the writer, a prominent politician in the province of Quebec, during the last twenty years. The subjects range from a descriptive narrative of scenes in Canadian history to suggestions as to the art of public speaking. Often there is a note of real eloquence, the expressions are felicitous, and scholarship is not wanting. One could wish indeed that politicians in English-speaking Canada could rival the culture of the author of this volume. Illustrations from Constantine and Diocletian, Innocent III and Frederick II, are found in his pages, and his grasp of history, if prejudiced, is yet real and vigorous. He claims with some truth that in arts and letters French-Canadians have an incontestable superiority over their English-speaking fellow-countrymen. It is curious and even pathetic to see how unwilling the French in Canada are to admit that their ancestors were a conquered people. "We are a people ceded, not conquered," says our author, and the fault for the disasters which resulted in cession, he

lays not upon the French in Canada but upon the French in France. Side by side with this singular loyalty to the French ideal, there is the most ardent political devotion to Great Britain. The French-Canadians, it is claimed, beat back the revolted Americans in 1776, and saved Canada for the British Crown. Of the annexation of Canada to the United States he will not hear. In the seventeenth century, statesmen toiled and soldiers fought, martyrs of the Catholic faith endured torture and death, to plant the French nationality in Canada.

"Neither I nor you believe, I am sure," says M. Chapais, "that the marvellous Canadian drama should end with so vulgar a dénouement as that of annexation to the United States. I do not believe that Providence has preserved us almost miraculously from destruction as a race, has led us to triumph over armed invasions and political dangers, to allow us to lose our national influence and vitality, to be engulfed in the great American family, like a grain of sand by the floods of the ocean."

The historical portions of the volume, while written in a strain of national glorification, are yet well done. There is a detailed narrative of the battle of Carillon or Ticonderoga. It is interesting to see that Montcalm found leisure in a busy military life to keep up the reading of Greek. A younger brother of his, indeed, is said to have read both Greek and Hebrew, and to have frequented the society of *savants* at the age of six. Our author is mistaken in thinking that Pitt was prime minister during the Seven Years' war. His position in the ministry was a dominant one, but he was not its official head. The volume closes with what we may take to be the aspiration of the French-Canadian race.

"Formerly we were New France. The rôles have changed. The New France is in Europe, the Old France is here. We accept willingly the transposition, and we consent to be in America the Old France, . . . the old France in faith, in attachment to religious and national institutions, in fidelity to the ancient traditions which were the cause of the vigour and greatness of the eldest daughter of the Church."

(3) The Province of Ontario

- Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society, 1898.* Toronto: Warwick Bros. and Rutter, 1898. Pp. 44.
- History of the Ottawa Valley.* By J. L. Gourlay, A.M.; a collection of facts, events and reminiscences for over half a century. N. p., n. d. Pp. 288.
- Jubilee History of Thorold, Township and Town, from the time of the red man to the present.* Published by John H. Thompson for the Thorold and Beaverdams Historical Society. Thorold: Thorold Post Printing Company, 1897-8. Pp. 18, 212, 77.
- Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement, or Norfolk's foundation builders and their family genealogies.* By E. A. Owen. Toronto: William Briggs, 1898. Pp. 578.
- Upper Canada Sketches.* By Thomas Conant. With illustrations, portraits and maps. Toronto: William Briggs, 1898. Pp. 243.
- Ontarian Families.* Genealogies of United Empire Loyalists and other pioneer families of Upper Canada. By Edward Marion Chadwick. First and second series. Toronto: Rolph, Smith & Co., 1894-98. Pp. xii, 186; xiii, 194.
- Ontarian Genealogist and Family Historian.* Edited by Edward Marion Chadwick. Parts I-III. Toronto: Rolph, Smith & Co., 1898. Pp. 16. Quarterly.
- Ontario—Premier Province of Canada.* Prepared under the direction of the Hon. John Dryden. Toronto: Warwick Bros., 1897. Pp. iv., 151. Map.

In all new countries the generation which has occupied the land, and toiled amid great privations to clear the soil and make homes has been either ignorant of the literary art or too much occupied to note the alteration which its own labours created. Each day has its cares and duties and it is only as the last survivors are about to pass away, that the children, better educated and possessed of more leisure, attempt to write down the oft repeated story of the struggles and sufferings of the early settlers. The weekly village newspaper has long sufficed as a vehicle for the brief narratives picked up from some octo-

genarian and transcribed with little skill. A further task is that of gathering these recollections from transient newspapers and combining with them the first traditions of the neighbourhood into a so-called history of the locality, more or less valuable as it contains documents and authenticated facts. To compare these productions with the county histories of older and richer countries—with such books as Whitaker's Craven, Hutchins' Dorsetshire, or Hasted's Kent—would be unwise; but one notes with pleasure the promise at least of better things, when age and maturity shall have given dignity to the subject.

In 1880 Dr. Thorburn, President of the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society, attempted to stimulate local historians to put their records in better literary form by offering a prize of forty dollars for the best local history sent in for competition to the examiners at Queen's University, Kingston. The offer was continued for a number of years, but the results were so unsatisfactory that it was finally withdrawn. More recently the Canadian Institute issued a circular addressed to the County Councils of Ontario, asking them to make grants of money, to be awarded to the writers of the best histories of their respective counties. Some five or six histories have been published under these conditions, but none have been of such a character as to call for special mention. In Nova Scotia they have been more fortunate, and histories like Campbell's Yarmouth, Des Brisay's Lunenburg and Calnek and Savary's Annapolis, have been creditable to that province. In Quebec, the peculiar circumstances of the clergy and the assistance given by the Government have stimulated the intense nationality of the French-Canadians to produce a series of parish records which for number and fulness of detail leave little to be desired.

In Ontario, with which we are now concerned, Mr. Croil's Dundas, Mr. Macdonald's Glengarry and Mr. Pringle's Lunenburg (the original name of the Eastern District) are almost the only books making pretence of being anything more than mere gossip—unless we include books about the city of Toronto, when Dr. Scadding's "Toronto of Old" and "Old and Early Toronto" easily take the first place. May, 1898, witnessed the

organization of the Ontario Historical Society, a central society with which the smaller associations throughout the province are affiliated, aiming at producing either directly or through these affiliations historical works of a higher and more exact character than heretofore. The annual meeting of the society was held on June 1st in the Council House of the Six Nations on the Grand River, and the speeches and reports as published in the *Annual Report* give promise of much useful work in the future.

Mr. Gourlay's *History of the Ottawa Valley* is a strange compound of gossip, genealogies and theological discussions, running on for 288 closely printed pages without a break. Wanting table of contents or index, or even headings to the pages, it forms a perfect wilderness into which the reader plunges without guidance. It evidently consists of the author's contributions to a weekly paper, pieced out by a very orthodox sermon, which may be of interest to his immediate neighbours, but is valueless abroad.

As perfect a contrast as can be imagined is the *Jubilee History of Thorold, Township and Town*, prepared by the Thorold and Beavertown Historical Society. The county of Lincoln, of which it forms a part, was so named by Governor Simcoe, who loved to transfer old English names to the new lands, making a list of the new counties and townships of Upper Canada read like an extract from an English gazetteer. The subdivisions of Lincoln have the same peculiarity, except Thorold, which was named after the representative of the county in the English Parliament, Sir John Thorold of Syston Park. The society which prepared this volume has apparently done nothing else, but this publication quite justifies its existence. The book is full of local details systematically arranged; the historical account is clear and concise, and there are many illustrations. An objection may be made to the number of apparently trivial names and the portraits of unimportant living individuals; but even these are failings on the right side. A local history must have a minutely local interest, and matter which we may be inclined to think useless may be of great interest to a succeeding generation.

Mr. Owen's *History of the Long Point Settlement* is of great interest. The portion of Upper Canada of which he is the historian lies on the north shore of Lake Erie, in the neighbourhood of what was the Long Peninsula before the action of winter storms converted it into an island, still known as the Long Point. The settlement was first commenced in 1792 by Loyalists, some of whom found their way thither by rough waggon roads and forest trails from New York and Pennsylvania; but the majority came from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick where the first grants had been made to the outcasts. The story of their journey and of their privations in taking possession of a land thickly covered with the primeval forest and far removed from all the comforts of civilized life is touching. The author has confined himself to those families who arrived before 1805, and gives in detail much information gleaned from the recollections of the older people and from documents. The genealogies are brought down to the present year and have apparently been compiled from family records, which have not hitherto been published. A valuable feature of the book is the information as to the nationality of the different settlers who filtered in from the United States. It is with surprise that the reader notices a German settlement at Middleton at that early date. Why Württembergers should give up their lands in Pennsylvania to remove into the dense forests of Upper Canada is a problem worth solving. Forms of government may have had something to do with it, but good lands were a strong attraction. That the style savours of the amateur is a fault readily pardoned, in consideration of the valuable work which the author has done. A few years more and the book would have been impossible.

Mr. Conant, in the preface to his *Sketches of Upper Canada*, pleads that the many communications he had received from persons unknown to him had led him to put in more permanent form his sketches contributed to the newspapers, and craves indulgence for offences against the canons of literary form. The critic is thus disarmed. Still Mr. Conant has done so well that the reader feels he could do better. We can pardon in

these days of genealogy-hunting his chapter on the English Conants; but why introduce Chapter X, with its details of life at Washington during the days of Lincoln, into a book on early Upper Canada? Is it so necessary to make a big book that trivial details of modern life abroad require to be introduced? Is the English translation of *À la Claire Fontaine* so little known as to require reproduction? If Mr. Conant had taken his newspaper contributions and burnt them and then set to work to write down the recollections of his father and himself in clear connected form, leaving out all extraneous matter, his book would have been both interesting and valuable. As it is, it contains good, bad and indifferent stuff, thrown confusedly together. Roger Conant, the author's grandfather, was a Loyalist from Massachusetts, and settled near Oshawa, about thirty-five miles east of Toronto. Possessed of a small sum of money, at a time when few settlers had any, he was enabled to combine farming and fur-trading with potash-making and, finally, sailing a small vessel between ports on Lake Ontario. The ignorant condition of the settlers, arising from want of schools, even as late as the middle of this century, may be judged by the extravagance into which they were led by religious fanatics from abroad. The Millerites, a sect of Second Adventists, seem in 1842 to have convinced the community of the approaching destruction of the world by fire, and the night of the 24th of February was passed in terror and excitement. The Mormons came in the summer of the same year and induced some to sell their property and throw in their lot with the Church of the Latter-Day Saints. No other chronicler has described these religious excitements so well; they must have been local in character. The illustrations in the book are crude in colour, but convey the impression that the drawing is not untruthful. "Balderwood" for "Boldrewood" (p. 77) is an example of the carelessness occasionally shown; and there is no index.

The completion of the second series of Mr. Chadwick's *Ontarian Families* affords an opportunity for calling attention to the excellent work upon which he is engaged. In the two volumes already issued about one hundred families of known

descent, with their connections, have been carefully traced ; notes are appended calling attention to any special circumstances worthy of remark relating to any member of the family. The frequency with which U. E. L. occurs after the names of the first Canadian members of their respective families is characteristic of the country. When the eldest representative is entitled to bear arms, these are heraldically described, as well as skilfully displayed with all the advantages of colour. These two volumes form the only examples published in Canada of the work of a real genealogist and herald. As is almost inevitable, the author has fallen into some of the pitfalls which beset the path of those who attempt to reconstruct family records ; but the number of mistakes is small, and the corrections he has been enabled to make in the addenda will clear the way for another edition. The later issue of parts 1-3 of the little *brochure*, to be continued quarterly, which he calls the *Ontarian Genealogist and Family Historian*, affords an opportunity of adding to the records in his first two volumes and of gathering together the odds and ends which a genealogist picks up in his continued researches. A very unpretentious article in the *Genealogical Magazine* for November, 1898, on the *Arms of Canada*, by Mr. Chadwick, corrects many false ideas about the representation of the arms of the different provinces on the national flag. An illustration of the great seal of Canada, the appearance of which is so unfamiliar to most Canadians, is given to show that the arms of the provinces which first formed the Confederation are alone to be found on it.

The official hand-book issued by the Province of Ontario is, as its title states, a description of the country, its resources and development, with glimpses of its scenery and its attractions for tourists, sportsmen and settlers. Like most books of the kind it is very laudatory and designed to impress the stranger with a high sense of the importance of the natural and economic resources of the province. Such books are necessary to encourage immigration, and this is the legitimate descendant of the first official advertisement of the province, the "Letter from a Gentleman in Upper Canada," prepared under the aus-

pices of Governor Simcoe and published in London and Philadelphia in 1795. The illustrations are very varied; some few are good, the rest indifferent, but as a whole the book is creditable to the Minister of Agriculture, from whose department it is issued.

JAMES BAIN, JR.

The Normal School Jubilee Celebration, 1847-1897 (Toronto: Warwick) is a well printed volume containing many biographical sketches and some papers and speeches dealing with educational progress in Canada, and especially in Ontario, during the last fifty years. Dr. S. P. Robins, the principal of McGill Normal School, Montreal, read a striking paper on "Protestant Education in Quebec." There are but two hundred thousand Protestants in the province of Quebec; and Dr. Robins thinks that by the middle of the next century, Montreal will contain practically the whole Protestant population in that province. Are the Celtic or Latin French, then, driving out the Teuton? Dr. Robins says distinctly—yes; and explains the reason. The Church of Rome levies the *dime* upon all farm lands owned by its members. Protestants are exempt. When, therefore, a farm owned by a Protestant is for sale, the Church is always ready to advance money to a Roman Catholic purchaser. In return she gets the interest upon the capital advanced and the land becomes subject to the *dime*—the payment of the twenty-sixth bushel of grain, of potatoes, and even of the same proportion of hay. Obviously it pays the Church to do this, and no reasonable person will complain of her policy while the law is what it is. Dr. Robins thinks that the acuteness of the struggle for existence has made the Protestants in the province of Quebec especially alert in regard to education. In the city of Montreal one-half the taxes are paid by the Protestants, who are but one-quarter of the population. The school tax available to educate one Protestant child is thus as great as that for educating three Catholic children. The Protestant child undoubtedly is better educated, and therefore better equipped for the struggle of life. It is appalling to read that from three to four hundred thousand persons in the province of Quebec of more than ten years of age cannot read and write.

In the December number of the *Canadian Magazine*, Florence Hamilton Rendal writes of *Rideau Hall, Past and Present*. The description of the substantial private residence which formed the nucleus of the present Government House, and of the successive additions due to the various tastes of Governors or Governors' wives has sufficient interest not to require the effort after vivacity which mars the latter part of the paper by the introduction of trivial matters.

(4) **Manitoba, British Columbia, and the Territories.**

The Hudson's Bay Company's Land Tenures and the Occupation of Assiniboia by Lord Selkirk's Settlers, with a list of grantees under the Earl and the Company. By Archer Martin. London: William Clowes and Sons, 1898. Pp. xvi., 238.

This book is mainly a legal argument to show that the Canadian Government has been in error in assuming that the Hudson's Bay Company's land grants in what is now Manitoba were invariably by way of lease. The documents the author quotes establish his point very clearly, and prove that some grants at any rate were in fee simple. He appears to magnify the consequences of this error however when he suggests that it casts a doubt upon the title to much valuable property along the banks of the Red River and even in the heart of Winnipeg itself. Upon the surrender by the Company of all its rights in the country to the Canadian Government, one of the first steps taken to restore peace and security of property to the province, which had lately passed through the troubles of Riel's first rebellion, was to confirm all titles to land granted by the Company. In consequence partly of the destruction of early records and partly of the negligence of the original settlers in obtaining title-deeds it was thought advisable that fresh patents should be issued to all rightful occupiers of land in the province, and an undoubted foundation of title thus established. Investiga-

tion of claims was therefore made and, on the supposition that settlers obtaining land from the Company had obtained it on lease only, patents in confirmation of title were issued to the personal representatives of deceased settlers, the inheritors of leaseholds by English law, instead of to the heirs-at-law, to whom estates in fee simple rightfully pass. The author hints at a future romance of the law when he says that "even now 'uneasy lie the heads' of many landowners in one of the most valuable residence portions of Winnipeg, because of the outstanding interest of a poor half-breed girl who long ago went to the Saskatchewan, but may unconsciously have left her children a rich inheritance." This however is the controversial aspect of Mr. Martin's book, and even in the statement of the facts presented we seem to see legal ground for an opposite argument.

As a contribution to the early history of Manitoba the volume has considerable value, chiefly on account of the transcription of original documents with which the writer has fortified his sketch of the successive waves of colonization. Some of these he has recovered from oblivion by the most painstaking searching, and he emphasizes the necessity of placing beyond the risk of destruction others which are now perilously situated. The province of Manitoba has been particularly unfortunate in losing the documentary evidence on which much of the earlier history depends. In 1822 the first and most outrageous destruction of records took place when Alexander McDonell, the Governor of Assiniboia, made away with all the papers, public or private, in his custody. All the written promises of lots made by Lord Selkirk to his Scotch settlers were thus lost. The Hudson's Bay Company seems to be responsible for other losses of the same kind, from carelessness we must suppose, for the lands comprised in Lord Selkirk's original grant were transferred by his executors to the Company, and it is natural to believe that the registers in which grants to settlers had been recorded, with all other documents relating to the colony, were delivered to the officers of the Company at that time. Some of these are preserved, notably Register B, but others have disappeared, among them, curiously enough, the very indenture by which the transfer back to the

Company was made. Mr. Martin complains more than once that the Hudson's Bay Company's offices in London have been searched in vain for various documents and papers which must once have been filed there. His persistence in exploring record offices within his reach was rewarded in one instance, when he discovered in a warehouse of the Company in Winnipeg the old records from which Register B, "the Domesday Book of Manitoba," was compiled in 1851. Another valuable document discovered by the author is Register A, a register of documents compiled by the executors of Lord Selkirk, which, with its contents, is described in this book by Mr. Martin. It has not been previously utilized by historians of the province.

The Appendices will prove very useful to future historians. They comprise an alphabetical list of the grantees of land under Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company from 1812 to 1870, taken from Register B, lists of settlers who came into the colony or departed from it at various times, and other valuable memoranda.

The Making of the Canadian West, being the reminiscences of an eye-witness. By Rev. R. G. MacBeth, M.A. With portraits and illustrations. Toronto: William Briggs, 1898. Pp. 230.

The Reverend Mr. MacBeth has succeeded in writing a fascinating and at the same time a tantalizing book. It is so much, that it might have been more. It does not profess to be a history, and yet much of it is marked by the prime qualities that are wanting in many a history, largeness of view, impartiality, insight. The making of the west, in the author's view, is comprised in the two struggles connected with the unhonoured name of Louis Riel, which were brought about partly by political changes, partly by race jealousies and antipathies.

The Rebellion of 1869-70 was immediately due to the transference of territorial sovereignty in the great North-west from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada. The authorities at Ottawa, having decided to establish at once a

provisional government, of which the headquarters should be the settlement on the Red River about Fort Garry, appointed a lieutenant-governor to enter into possession. Unfortunately no account whatever had been taken of the wishes of the inhabitants, ten thousand or so in number. It was perhaps hardly to be expected that they should be consulted about the transfer of the country, but even the civility of notifying them by royal proclamation of the change in their form of government was omitted. All that they knew of Canada and Canada's intentions with regard to them was derived from the swarm of surveyors and self-styled agents of the Dominion Government who settled down upon the territory like the eagles gathered together about a carcass. When the newly appointed lieutenant-governor, the Hon. William McDougall, drew near the frontier, the French half-breeds, whose excitable natures had been worked upon by Riel and others, took the first overt step of rebellion by forbidding him entrance. Progress in disaffection was rapid, and the leaders soon established a provisional government, which terrorized the English-speaking settlers. Mr. MacBeth warmly defends the latter from insinuations of connivance or sympathy with Riel's party at any time. It is easy to be wise after the event, and he points out that Riel's seizure of Fort Garry and subsequent proceedings were not only unexpected by the majority of the loyal settlers, but probably had not been contemplated by the rebel leader himself when he organized the resistance to Mr. McDougall's entrance. The arrest and subsequent escape of Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Schultz are graphically described. It was at the house of the author's father that Dr. Schultz took refuge on the night of his escape from the Fort, and he set out from there on his terrible winter journey on foot to Eastern Canada. In his description of the Convention that was called together in consequence of Lord Strathcona's mission from the Dominion Government (he was then simply Mr. Donald Smith), the author gives us a good idea of the sturdy characters of whom it was composed. Feeling ran high between the French and English sections. Riel had called upon the Convention to confirm and approve of the provisional government that he had formed, but

the two representatives from Kildonan declined to commit themselves to such a step, until advised to do so in the interests of peace by Mr. McTavish, the former Governor under the Hudson's Bay Company. On another occasion Mr. Sutherland, one of the Kildonan delegates, retorted hotly to an attempted rebuke by Riel "that he did not propose to be taught his duty by Louis Riel." The subsequent excesses of the rebel chief are sufficient to show how dangerous a man he was to oppose and how quickly roused to violence. The author's summary of his character and conduct on the occasion of the later Saskatchewan rebellion is true of his whole career. We give the passage:

"He was a man easily excited and inordinately vain; hence, as he felt the wine of a new movement in his system, and became intoxicated with the success of his fiery appeals to the meetings that assembled, he broke out into amazing and extravagant pretensions. He openly separated from the Church of Rome [this was in 1885], and such was his influence over the French half-breeds that he drew them from allegiance to their priests. He added David to his name, and called himself 'Louis David Riel exovede [*sic*],' in allusion to both his kingly and his priestly claims" (p. 142).

The reputation of the *Métis*, or French half-breeds, does not stand high in the North-west; yet the mingling of Indian and Highland-Celtic blood has produced some admirable men. Mr. MacBeth speaks of several such in his chapter on the political life of the young province. John Norquay, James McKay and James Ross are the most remarkable. The first-named was Premier of Manitoba for nearly seventeen years, and his ability is unquestioned. The triumphs of James McKay were in negotiating treaties with his half-brethren, the Indians. To quote Mr. MacBeth again:

"He knew the Indians and they knew him, hence he became a medium of communication, ensuring the conclusion of treaties wise, humane and lasting. The Dominion will never wholly realize how much of the comparative peace she has enjoyed in the vast plains of the west she owes to the statesmanship of Governors Morris and Laird, aided by such men as James McKay, the Rev. John McKay, George McDougall, Father Lacombe, and others whom the Indians loved and trusted" (p. 113).

The last part of the book is devoted to the Saskatchewan rebellion of 1885. The author served in the Winnipeg Light Infantry, and was one of the force under General Strange despatched in pursuit of Big Bear's band of Indians. The narrative here is almost entirely in the form of personal reminiscences

of the long march through the North Saskatchewan district. A concluding chapter discusses religious and educational development in Manitoba.

Many incidents related in the course of the narrative supply abundance of local colour and agreeably distract the reader from the history of politics and war. When Mr. Donald Smith arrived at Fort Garry in the winter of 1869-70, an open-air meeting was held to hear him read and explain his commission. Riel attempted to prevent the papers from being read, but one of the bystanders "caught the redoubtable President by the back of the collar and pulled him down the steps on which he was standing. Riel immediately threw off his coat and called out the guard." He may call out the guard, he may style himself President, but that little spontaneous action of throwing off his coat is diagnostic and reveals him to the world as a hot-headed backwoodsman spoiling for a rough-and-tumble fight. The appearance of the first parliament of the province of Manitoba is variegated beyond the hopes of older countries:

"I recall seeing in the old legislative chamber men clothed in the faultless Prince Albert black beside men in a curious compound of the old and the new, having the long curled hair of raven hue, wearing the moccasins to which they had always been accustomed, and which certainly had the advantage of silence over creaky boots; coats open, displaying the coloured flannel shirt without a collar, and across the waist, picturesquely slashed, the French belt or sash commonly worn on the prairies." (p. 96).

That mistakes of grammar or parliamentary etiquette should occur in such a Chamber is not surprising. It is rather a matter of astonishment that representative institutions should have been so readily understood, and have worked so well. The population of Manitoba in 1870 stood at 11,963, of whom only 1,565 were whites. Except for 568 Indians, the remainder of the population were half-breeds, French or English.

There are a few trifling mistakes. On page 28 it stated that the Hudson's Bay Company held their charter for three hundred years. This is a slip for two hundred. A similar error occurs on page 38, where "twenty-five" should be "fifteen." Some of the illustrations from photographs are interesting. "Riel and his Council in 1869-70," and "Riel's Councillors in 1885," are companion pictures, and might have been placed together with good

effect to show the sorry contrast between the characters of the first and second rebellion. Most of the wood-cut portraits are very poor.

British Columbia for Settlers, its Mines, Trade and Agriculture. By Frances Macnab. With three maps. London: Chapman & Hall, 1898. Pp. 370.

This book is the most elaborate unofficial description of British Columbia that has yet appeared. The authoress is a journalist of repute, and has previously "done" South Africa in similar fashion. Her eyes are very wide open and likewise her ears, for she appears to have conversed with and questioned people of all ranks whom she met on her travels, from Sir William Van Horne, at Montreal, to an Indian fisherman at Bonner's Ferry, on the Columbia River. The information she thus gained is set down in the form of an itinerary, very much in the manner of that sagacious old traveller, Arthur Young, who perambulated England at the end of the last century in the interests of agriculture. The introductory chapters on the mines, trade, agriculture and inhabitants of the country, taken at a general view, are a kind of summary of the author's observations and studies during her tour.

It was of course impossible to traverse much of the vast territory in the two and a half months at the author's disposal, or to visit more than a few of the centres of industrial or agricultural enterprise. On Vancouver Island she saw the mines at Alberni and Nanaimo; on the mainland the salmon-fishing at the mouth of the Fraser river, Chilliwack and Agassiz, the Okanagan valley, and Cranbrook, besides Rossland, Nelson, and Trail, offered ample material for observation on natural resources and the methods of the colonists. Her account of these districts is most valuable and instructive, based as it is not only upon what she saw but also upon conversations with government officials, owners of property and others whose names are given as a guarantee of the authenticity of her narrative. In the mineral resources of the province she is evidently not so much interested as in its agricultural possibilities. But she visits the mining centres dutifully and takes

an intelligent interest in mining methods. Mr. Turner, the head of the Government at the time of her visit, is reported as speaking of the mines as "the lever which will lift this country to prosperity." Mr. Marshall Bray, the gold commissioner, regarded the success of the mining interest as "the best chance for the country," and Mr. MacLagan, editor of the *Vancouver World*, although "keenly alive to the importance of developing agriculture" considered that "the first and most important industry just now is the gold-mining." But in spite of these clear leads the author does not forget that she is writing a book for intending settlers and lays due stress upon an important fact, often forgotten by those who rush to the mines, viz., that special training is necessary for success in that field. Moreover the difficulty of access to the mining districts and the consequent high prices of provisions and cost of realizing a profit even on good ore are urged with great force. She looks to the construction of the branch of the Canadian Pacific railway by Crow's Nest Pass into the Kootenay district as of immense importance in developing the riches of that country, which are by no means limited to gold and silver. In the preliminary chapter on mines it is noted that the American mining engineers have been more successful than the Englishmen in working the mines so as to produce an immediate profit, and that their methods though wasteful are practical and suitable to the conditions of the country.

When we turn to the author's account of the present state and prospects of agriculture in the province we find her on more congenial ground. It is obvious that she would recommend its encouragement to all who have any influence in the development of the country, and in her eyes it constitutes the most promising enterprise for the emigrant. The experiments in fruit-growing at Agassiz and in other parts of the southern valleys prove the suitability of the climate for that industry, and the author considers that British Columbia, in common with the States lying to the south of it along the Pacific coast, is destined to be a great fruit producer. Evidently in the cultivation of wheat and other cereals the province cannot hope to compete with the great prairies to the east except for purely local purposes, and it is

strange that ranching should have assumed the proportions that it has, in view of the great cattle-country on the eastern slope of the Rockies, especially when the invariable complaint is that over-stocking has exhausted many of the old ranches and that the herds of cayuses, or wild Indian horses, even now assist to complete the ruin of the mountain pastures. But, as the author says, there seems to be always money in cattle. Hops and flax are crops which she recommends.

Many disabilities are, however, connected with agriculture in the province. There are no free grants of land and the imposition of a royalty on all timber cut on clearing is plainly an obstacle to the immigration of the small farmer. In fact the author admits, reluctantly enough, that large holdings have hitherto proved the most satisfactory. But co-operative farming promises also to succeed. An interesting instance is the Farmer's Co-operative Mill at Armstrong in the Yale district. Another successful experiment in the line of squeezing out the middleman is the Kelowna Shippers' Union, by which the farmers have succeeded in arranging shipment by rail of their produce to the mining centres on the best possible terms. Among the artificial hindrances to agricultural development the author is especially severe on the system of mortgaging farms. It is hard to follow her here in her denunciation of the loan companies which deprive the farmer of his gain by way of interest, for she labours under some confusion of thought both as to the nature of a mortgage and the business carried on by these same loan companies. If the latter lent the full improved value of a farm, according to the borrower's estimate, upon the sole security of the land, it is hard to see what would save them from immediate bankruptcy. Even with the cautious policy of valuing farms which the author admits, these companies find themselves with many farms on their hands for which there is at present no remunerative sale. This unfortunate state of things is indicative of an early inflation in the value of farms, and, perhaps, of improvidence on the part of the farmers, not of any special iniquity on the part of the companies. The high rate of interest charged for loans is incidental to the insecurity of trade in a young country. Her recommenda-

tion to intending settlers to bring with them sufficient capital to make them independent of loans is difficult to be followed by the impoverished Britons whom she would like to see settled in this new and promising country. Some of her advice to immigrants from England is very sound. Readiness to turn to anything and general handiness are qualities essential to the settler not only in British Columbia but in any colony or new country. There is some novelty about her suggestions for middle-class families with a small income in England taking up farming in British Columbia. The adoption of a governess to educate the girls and assist in the housework might prove a difficulty, and there might also be objections on the part of the wife's sister "to go out and add her quota to the little settlement," especially as the author adds, "but she should be prepared to help in such work as cleaning lamps, washing pocket-handkerchiefs, laces, collars and cuffs, and also in cooking of simple food."

It is undoubtedly a hazardous experiment to send youths from England, fresh from school, to a country of such freedom and absence of conventional restraint as British Columbia, but if they must be sent, it is far better, as the author says, that the young man should be made to depend solely upon his own industry and not upon remittances from home. It appears, however, from conversations recorded in this book, that the British immigrant is not regarded with much favour in British Columbia. Colonel Baker, the Minister of Immigration, spoke with no uncertain sound. We quote the words of the book:

"But if the Colonel was not in favour of the gentleman emigrant, he was still less inclined to encourage the working man. 'Artisans and mechanics we don't require,' he said, 'and your farm-labourers do not understand the country; and then it is hard for them—very hard. They can't adapt themselves. They don't see it.'"

On another occasion, at Agassiz, she was inspecting the abundant fruit-trees of the Experimental Farm under the guidance of Mr. Sharpe, the Director. She discussed with him the prospects of the English immigrant in a country of such natural wealth. The conversation is too long to quote here, but Mr. Sharpe's view was unmistakable. The English youth, of whatever class, is unfitted by training and association for the life of a

colonist and his life is foredoomed to partial failure at least. "The waste is the same in all classes, but '*the gentlemen's sons are the worst.*'"

In getting from Rossland to Grand Forks the author had to cross American territory and she took the opportunity of visiting Spokane in Washington State, from which so much of the food supply of Rossland is derived. The chapter devoted to Spokane is interesting. A commission business in the fruit and wheat crops of the North-western States centres at Spokane, and its developed organization is an object-lesson in modern methods of commerce, which British Columbians and Canadians in general may well take to heart. The conditions of life, as exemplified in this instance, have indeed changed from the days when the local market was presumed to be sufficient for every industry. As the author points out, the hardships of the labourer, involving uncertainty of employment and low wages, are bound up with these new conditions, and nothing can eliminate or even mitigate them for any length of time.

It was inevitable that a book based upon so hurried a visit and written with such haste thereafter should contain many errors. As has already been mentioned, the author is under complete misapprehension as to the ordinary legal effect of a mortgage and the business of loan companies. Her criticisms of the provincial and federal Governments are equally insecure, and she is betrayed into strange inconsistencies from mere ignorance. She complains of the duty on imported food-stuffs as being levied for the advantage of far-away provinces, yet at the same time she hints that the provincial Government ought to be put in a financial position to encourage agriculture by clearing, draining, or irrigating the land for the farmer. Is it possible that she does not see that the high prices obtained for farm produce in British Columbia should operate as a direct incitement to farmers there? Her remarks too upon the "half-fledged" constitution and system of administration are scarcely accurate, nor is British Columbia the first province of the Dominion to suffer the enormous increase of wealth which is supposed to try that constitution and administration so severely. It is an inversion of the

facts of the case to represent, as the author does, that the Canadian Pacific railway was originally built to capture trade with the far east, and that it incidentally *retrieved* the province of British Columbia for Canada. She is not aware that the construction of the railway to bind the provinces of the east and west together was an express condition under which British Columbia entered the Canadian federation. There is much to be said for her view of the attitude of the Government toward Chinese immigration and of the restrictions placed upon it—but there is also much to be said against it. The problem of alien races is one of the most difficult with which new countries have to deal, and in view of the author's own contempt for the people of the United States as a "mixed race of aliens with a large admixture of the criminal class out of every other nation," it is hard to see how she can consistently condemn the attempt to put an embargo upon Chinese immigration. But the general trend of her remarks upon the Chinese in British Columbia is very much to the point. Chinese labour is preferred to white labour, not only because it is cheaper, but because the Chinaman is industrious and persevering and can be reckoned on for regularity; the British labourer too often is the reverse.

There are very many mistakes due to careless proof-reading, and the author's style, though clear and flowing as a rule, suffers from apparent haste in composition, with the result of frequent grammatical errors and occasional lapses into hopeless obscurity. It is worth pointing out that the figures given on page 29 to indicate the prosperous condition of the Bank of Montreal are obviously wrong. The undivided profits are certainly not over eighty-eight million dollars; the two last figures probably represented cents in the table from which the author gets her statistics, so that the extraordinary amount of undivided profits becomes the more comprehensible sum of \$886,909.98. The amount given of notes in circulation should likewise be abbreviated by the last two figures. A slight and insufficient index is added, and although nowadays it is matter for thankfulness if such a book as this is indexed at all, we must protest against the uselessness of such indifferent work as this. "Jubilee" is given three refer-

ences, which means that the author mentions on three different pages the fact of the Queen's Jubilee, which occurred while she was on her travels; but "Alkali" is given one reference only, although it frequently happens that she mentions the existence of alkali in the soil of various localities and, what is more important, the means of getting rid of it. An intending settler could have dispensed with the citations of pages where the Jubilee is alluded to for the sake of more references to passages relating to the alkali lands and their treatment. An appendix contains extracts from the British Columbia Land Act and Assessment Act, a list of British Columbian trees, and the ordinary port and towage expenses of vessels in sea and river waters. A scanty map of British Columbia, blurred so as to be almost illegible, stands at the front of the book, and a railway map at the end.

In volume viii of the *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society* (published by the Society, St. Paul, Minn.) are included two papers dealing with the northern boundary of that state. Dr. Ulysses Sherman Grant deals with the question in a partisan spirit, but his topographical information concerning northern Minnesota is valuable as coming from the pen of a state surveyor who has traversed almost the whole frontier described. Besides the agricultural richness of the Red River valley, a factor of industrial importance for the future of both sides of the line which he notes is a fall on the boundary river two and a half miles west of Rainy Lake; of this he says: "The available water power much exceeds that of the Falls of St. Anthony." The second paper on the boundary is by Alexander N. Winchell and is founded on state documents. He points out two geographical errors involved in the definitive treaty of 1783: 1. that the Lake of the Woods was the head of the system of great lakes outflowing through the St. Lawrence; 2. that the Mississippi rose north-westward of the Lake of the Woods. The first error meant a clear gain of over fifteen thousand square miles to the United States, since, as the writer admits, "the evident and plainly stated intention of the commissioners was to run the line through the middle of all the great lakes and onward to the source of the greatest

lake," which would have terminated the waterway boundary in Seven Beaver Lake, considerably south of the present line. The result of the second error is that curious chip out of the southern boundary of far western Ontario reaching to the north-west point of the Lake of the Woods. The design in 1783 was to run the boundary due west from this point to the Mississippi, and it was not till many years later that the Mississippi was proved conclusively not to reach so far north. Mr. Winchell goes in detail into the several negotiations for a definitive determination of the frontier line and the claims advanced by the representatives of the two governments. Another officer of the Minnesota Geological Survey, Mr. Warren Upham, contributes a paper on *The Settlement and Development of the Red River Valley*. As Mr. Upham served both on the United States Geological Survey and on the Geological Survey of Canada, in exploring the shore line of Lake Agassiz, the portion of his paper devoted to the topography of the district must be considered as of original authority. The table of wheat production of the Red River valley, which he inserts, shows the average yield per acre for the whole of Manitoba to be higher than that for the Red River valley alone in Minnesota and North Dakota, confessedly the richest wheat area in those states. *The opening of the Red River of the North to Commerce and Civilization* is an interesting report, by Captain Russel Blakeley, drawn largely from the writer's own experience on the institution of steamboat service on the Red River to Fort Garry in 1859.

Pathfinding on Plain and Prairie, by John McDougall (Toronto: Briggs), is a narrative of the author's life in the North-west Territories, where he pursued missionary labours among the Indians and shared their roving life as a hunter. The book is a continuation of two previous volumes, and covers a period of four years only, from 1865 to 1868. There is abundance of adventure in it; buffalo-hunting, exciting runs with dog-sleighs, even encounters with Indian war-parties, are the subjects upon which the author dilates. The impossibility of two of these amusements at the present day marks the enormous change that has taken place within a generation. There is much that is valuable, there-

fore, in this record of vanished conditions. The account of Indian superstitions and rites should be of interest to the student of folklore, especially an elaborate description of the Thirst-dance among the Crees and the tortures inflicted by the votaries on themselves in honour of the occasion. In speaking of snow-blindness, to which the Indians were liable, the author attributes his own immunity to the fact that his eyes are light-coloured, while those of the natives were usually dark. He gives on the whole a most favourable picture of the Indians, and his answer to those who charge laziness upon them should effectually dispel any notion that the life of an Indian "brave" was less arduous than that of his squaw.

"To follow a wood hunter on foot from before daylight in the short days, through brush and copse and heavy timber, over big hills and across wide valleys, on and on for many miles, sometimes until noon or late in the afternoon before a "kill" is made; or, having started game, to run for miles at a terrific pace, hoping to head off the quarry and at last secure a shot; then, having killed, to butcher or secure from wolf or coyote or wolverine the desired meat, and strike as straight as possible for the camp, sometimes many, many miles distant, with thick forest and dense darkness now intervening; or it may be to have all the labour and exhaustion of such a chase without the chance of a shot, reaching camp late at night, wearied and disappointed; to continue this for days, sometimes feasting and again famishing—and all this not from choice but of necessity—could be counted no easy matter. It is not for fun, but life; health, income, influence, honour, respect, all these are dependent on your efforts."

The book is written in an easy fluent style and makes one wonder at the proficiency that the author must have attained in Cree to justify his statement that "even then it was becoming easier for me to speak in Cree than in English." Some highly imaginative illustrations add nothing to the value of the book.

In *John Black, the Apostle of the Red River* (Toronto: Briggs, 1898), the Reverend George Bryce gives the biography of the first Presbyterian minister to the Red River settlement. Lord Selkirk had promised his Highland colonists at the outset to send them a minister of their own faith; but from various causes thirty years elapsed before their appeals to Governors and Church Mission Boards were successful. Mr. Black was a Scotchman who had emigrated when a young man, first to the State of New York and then to Canada. He became a theological student

at Knox College, Toronto, upon its establishment in 1844, and after some mission work in Lower Canada he accepted a nomination to the spiritual charge of the long-neglected Scotch settlers in the neighbourhood of Fort Garry. There he remained until his death in 1882, having seen the struggling settlement develop into the thriving centre of a new province. Mr. Bryce interweaves a good deal of social and political history with his biographical sketch. There is a chapter on "The Early Settlers on Red River," which gives an excellent account of the successive waves of immigration, and of the curious intermingling of the races that took place in consequence. The concluding sentence of the chapter deserves quotation :

"It [The Red River Settlement] marked the slow but sure process of the Christianization and semi-civilization of many of our Indians ; it gave the introduction from a barbarous and wandering life to habits of order and settled work ; it furnished a valuable pioneering and trading agency for the fur trade, for surveying our plains, and for our Canadian exploration. It gave the nucleus of the present educational and religious organizations, it made the Hudson's Bay Company not only a trading company, but a company helping forward in different ways the improvement of the Indians, and made them the friends of education and religion, and if we read the story of its history aright, it saved to Britain and Canada the vast North-west, which would otherwise not unlikely [*sic*] have met the fate of Oregon. And to do so great a work was not to fail."

A later chapter is devoted to the Riel Rebellion of 1869-70, and another to the history of the establishment of Manitoba College.

Sir Mathew Baillie Begbie, late Chief Justice of British Columbia, is the subject of a sketch by Mr. Edward Nicolls in the July number of the Canadian Magazine. On the union into one province of the mainland of British Columbia with Vancouver island, Chief Justice Begbie was placed at the head of the judiciary, and upheld the dignity of that office throughout the critical period of the gold fever. Speaking of his relations with the lawless element which invaded the province at that time, his biographer says :

"He proved himself to be a man of strong will, courage and daring, in fact the very man for the times, and very soon the majesty of the law was asserted. . . . The miners had shot down the native inhabitants as if they had been deer or ducks, and enjoyed the fun ; but they were brought to justice, and many a white man was hung for killing an Indian."

The article contains a number of lively anecdotes illustrating the Chief Justice's sense of fair play, the difficulties he had to encounter in the discharge of his office, and his unflinching execution of the law. If the mining regions of the United States had had such a judge in their early days lawlessness there would never have reached the dimensions that it did.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS

Canada: An Encyclopædia of the Country. The Canadian Dominion considered in its Historic Relations, its Natural Resources, its Material Progress and its National Development. Edited by J. Castell Hopkins. Volumes II, III and IV. Toronto: The Linscott Publishing Company, 1898. Pp. 564, 525, 544.

These three volumes of Mr. Hopkins' work cover a very limited range of subjects. Volume II is occupied entirely with the Hudson's Bay Company, the Canadian railways and the Methodist, Anglican and Roman churches in Canada. Of fifty pages on the Hudson's Bay Company Lord Strathcona, a former Hudson's Bay factor, writes ten, the rest of the space being taken up with editorial notes of a somewhat heterogeneous character. Persons prominently connected with the different railways and churches describe their history and policy. This plan has the advantage of securing authoritative information, but it results in too much eulogy.

Volume III turns from railways and churches to the thread of history begun in Volume I, but entirely broken by the nature of the contents of Volume II. We have a discussion of the Rebellion of 1837 and of the Seigneurial Tenure and Clergy Reserve questions. Then come the provincial educational systems in Canada. They would be naturally followed by the histories of the universities and other educational bodies, but these are postponed to Volume IV, and meanwhile the waterways, canals and shipping routes, and the mines and minerals of Canada are discussed, the volume ending, curiously enough, with a history of the Congregational and Baptist churches. Volume IV continues with the Presbyterian church and with the miscellaneous religious annals of Canada. Then we have the universities and the higher educational system, a discussion of artistic development in Canada and of military history since 1837.

The first impression derived from the volumes is that they

are made to sell by subscription to uncritical readers. This does not mean that there is not in them much that the educated reader will find of value. The work, however, has obviously been done very hastily, and the disorderly arrangement is probably due to the necessity of going to press before all the material was ready and could be properly classified. There is much padding. Long speeches on half-dead issues are reprinted, as also are copious extracts from books. Addresses to and replies from the Prince of Wales, and long and formal memorials by official bodies are not the sort of thing that one expects to see in a serious encyclopædia. The term usually indicates a condensed and orderly collection of information. In almost no sense is it applicable to this work.

Necessarily when working under such pressure of time many errors are made and little attention has been paid to bringing into harmony the various statements of the volumes. One illustration will suffice. McGill University is said (vol. iv., p. 324) to have assets amounting to \$3,300,000 and the University of Toronto to have an income of \$85,000. On page 336 gifts to McGill University are named amounting to \$6,031,646—nearly twice the amount of the assets with which it is credited—and on page 177 President Loudon states the income of the University of Toronto to be \$140,204 for the current year. Like too much of the work produced in Canada, these volumes show a very slight sense of proportion. Biographical sketches are inserted on no explicable principle of arrangement, and obscure persons are given as much space as really important ones. Mr. Castell Hopkins can do much better work than this. Probably his publishers are more to blame than he for faults that are due mainly to haste and a desire for quick returns for the large outlay which the undertaking must have involved. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Charles Tupper and Sir Henry Strong lend their names to introductions to volumes which are certainly not worthy of them. The full indexes are the most carefully prepared features of the work.

Report on an Exploration in the Yukon District, N.W.T., and adjacent northern portion of British Columbia, 1887, by George M. Dawson, with Extracts relating to the Yukon District from Report on an Exploration in the Yukon and Mackenzie Basins, 1887-88, by R. G. McConnell (Geological Survey of Canada, no. 629). Ottawa, 1898. Pp. viii, 244.

The Klondike Official Guide, Canada's Great Gold Field, the Yukon District, prepared by Wm. Ogilvie. With numerous maps and illustrations and regulations governing placer mining. Published by authority of the Department of the Interior of the Dominion of Canada. Toronto: The Hunter, Rose Co., 1898. Pp. 154.

The Yukon Territory: The narrative of W. H. Dall, leader of the expedition to Alaska in 1866-68; The narrative of an exploration made in 1887 in the Yukon District by George M. Dawson, D.S., F.G.S.; Extracts from the report of an exploration made in 1896-1897 by Wm. Ogilvie, D.L.S., F.R.G.S. Introduction by F. Mortimer Trimmer, F.R.G.S. With map of the Territory, fifty woodcuts and twenty-two full-page illustrations. London: Downey & Co., 1898. Pp. xiv, 438.

Sketch of the Life and Discoveries of Robert Campbell, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, by George Bryce (The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transaction no. 52, April 14th, 1898). Winnipeg: The Manitoba Free Press Company, 1898. Pp. 18.

In 1887 the Geological Survey sent out an expedition under Dr. G. M. Dawson, the present Director, to explore the Stikine, Liard and Pelly rivers. The party divided into three, and between them they explored and mapped by instrumental observations a route nearly 1,500 miles in length. The report of the expedition was reprinted in 1898 with the addition of an elaborate map on which all the additional information acquired since 1887 has been noted. At the time when this report was written the Cassiar district was more a centre of mining activity than the lower Yukon, and Dr. Dawson accordingly left the Stikine river at Telegraph Creek and followed the trail used by Cassiar miners to Dease Lake. From there he continued north

by the Dease, Upper Liard, and Frances rivers to the Pelly or Upper Yukon river, down which he travelled as far as its junction with the Lewes, the site of Fort Selkirk. From this point he made his return journey to the coast by the Lewes river and Chilkoot Pass to the head of Lynn Canal. The greater part of his survey was therefore off the route now adopted for approaching the Yukon gold-fields.

After leaving Dease river Dr. Dawson's route was through country that was practically unknown, and he enters upon a detailed description of the waterways and their surroundings. Frances Lake, from which a portage had to be made to reach the Pelly river, he describes as one of the most beautiful lakes he ever saw. A very difficult portage, which in the absence of any native trail took twelve days to make, brought the party to the Pelly river. From this point it was plain sailing, and Dr. Dawson says that with the exception of one rapid at Hoole Cañon, the course of the Pelly is navigable for small steamers from the place where he reached it to its junction with the Lewes river. The return journey of the party up the Lewes river to Lake Lindeman and over the Chilkoot Pass followed a route even then used by miners and which has since become known from the descriptions of many gold-seekers. With conscientious accuracy Dr. Dawson has embodied in this report information, most valuable to the historian, relative to the earlier explorations and discoveries in this district. His extensive acquaintance with the maps and literature of travel has enabled him to pass judgment upon many unfounded claims to priority of discovery. It is allowable in this connection to refer to Dr. Dawson's *Historical Note on Events in the Yukon District*, published in the last volume of this Review, which was itself a substantial contribution to Canadian historical literature. In it he gave the annals of gold-mining in the Yukon District and the adjacent part of Alaska, with statistics of the output of gold.

Appended to the reprint of Dr. Dawson's report of 1887 are extracts from the report of Mr. R. G. McConnell, who was one of Dr. Dawson's party, but branched off when they arrived at the Liard river and conducted an independent exploration of the

Lower Liard river and the Mackenzie valley, returning next year by the Bell and Porcupine rivers to Fort Yukon in Alaska, and thence by the Yukon and Lewes rivers and the Chilkoot Pass to the sea-coast. The portions of his report that deal with the Mackenzie valley are omitted in this reprint. It should be mentioned that some excellent illustrations of scenery from photographs are included.

The most reliable authority upon the Yukon gold-fields is undoubtedly Mr. William Ogilvie, who is now the Commissioner of the District by appointment of the Canadian Government. He has explored the chief routes, surveyed the international boundary, laid out building lots and mining claims and made himself thoroughly acquainted with the requirements of the gold-miners and their methods of work. It was only fitting, therefore, that *The Klondike Official Guide*, published by authority of the Department of the Interior, should be prepared by him. The foundation of the book is Mr. Ogilvie's account of his journey over the Chilcoot Pass and down the Lewes and Pelly rivers in 1887. It is supplemented by a detailed description of the country traversed and of the adjacent valleys, and by disquisitions upon agricultural and mineral resources. Two-thirds of the book are taken up with material of this kind, which, though interesting as a personal narrative and conveying a good deal of miscellaneous information, is not very much to the purpose in an "Official Guide." But a later section under the comprehensive heading, "More Recent Discoveries, Facts and Information, with Advice, Suggestions, etc., etc.," does contain a description of mining methods which should be of use to an intending prospector. The last section of the volume is a description of various routes to the Klondyke that might be followed, including one by the Upper Ottawa, the Abitibi, James Bay, Hudson Bay, Chesterfield Inlet and the Barren Lands. When the book was published it was obvious that railway construction was imminent, either from Skagway over the White Pass, since accomplished, or from Stikine River to Teslin Lake, so that it was rather a waste of words in a practical handbook to discuss any other means of approaching the mining centre. The most useful portion of the

book is undoubtedly ten pages at the end which deal with the question of food supplies. A list of everything necessary to the intending miner is given, with some judicious advice, founded upon experience, as to packing and transport, and directions for managing boats and canoes in a rapid current. On the whole the volume is by no means a satisfactory "Official Guide." It is too discursive, too historical, too evidently prepared to sell. There are scores of illustrations from photographs, all bad, and half a dozen maps, hardly decipherable.

One thought suggested by a careful reading of this and other books on the Yukon District is that the multiplication of names has been carried on to an inordinate extent. It is an evil that two ends of the same lake or two sections of the same river should possess different names, but this is a trifling matter in comparison with the mania which possesses some explorers for renaming every object met with. Dr. G. M. Dawson's sound principle of refusing to recognize local names for different reaches of the same water deserves to be followed by every official who has anything to do with the construction of maps. The practice of Lieutenant Schwatka, who entered the Yukon District in 1886 on his way to conduct an exploration of Alaska, cannot be sufficiently condemned. He bestowed new names on every natural object within sight, regardless not only of prior nomenclature but of the exact nature of the objects themselves. He did not take the time to examine whether what was apparently a lake might not be actually a river or a river a lake. It is a pity that Mr. Ogilvie should have recognized and thereby perpetuated so many innovations of this reckless geographer. It is possible that Schwatka supposed himself to be the discoverer and pioneer explorer of this region. He certainly showed an extraordinary ignorance of his predecessors when he remarks of a certain spot in the Pelly River: "A man named Campbell is said to have passed here some years ago."

The bulkiest and handsomest volume of the year on the Yukon Territory and its gold-mining is one comprising three independent narratives, reprinted with a short introduction by Mr. F. W. Trimmer. There is first the narrative by Mr. W. H.

Dall of his expedition to Alaska in 1866-68, when that territory was still under Russian government. It is hard to see why it should be incorporated in a book bearing the title of "The Yukon Territory," unless the area drained by the River Yukon be meant by the phrase, and not the particular territorial division of British North America to which the name is usually applied. Mr. Dall's account of the Russian and native inhabitants of Alaska thirty years ago and of his navigation of the Lower Yukon is interesting; but as he never reached Canadian territory or ascended the river higher than Fort Yukon, it is unnecessary to discuss that portion of the volume. The second part is an abridgment of Dr. G. M. Dawson's report of his exploration in 1887-88, which has been spoken of above. Part three consists of extracts from an official report of Mr. William Ogilvie of his work during 1896-97, when he was engaged in surveying and roughly marking the boundary-line between Canada and Alaska. The interest of this lies in the information incidentally given of the condition of the country. While he was there the discovery of gold on Bonanza Creek and other streams flowing into Klondyke River was made, and he describes with vivid particularity the immediate migration of miners from Circle City, Forty-Mile and the other camps to the new fields. His recommendations to the Department to which he is reporting with regard to police and judicial administration, and other details of government, are also extremely suggestive of the state of things that then existed.

The history of exploration in the Yukon district begins with the name of Robert Campbell, who discovered the Pelly or Upper Yukon River, as well as the head-waters of other streams of that region. It is a pity that Dr. George Bryce's *Sketch* is not more elaborated and that a more incisive picture is not drawn of the old Hudson Bay factor, for he richly deserves whatever attention can be directed both to his exploits and to his character. The mere enumeration of the Hudson's Bay Company's forts established by him is evidence of his restless energy. From 1834 to 1852 he was unceasingly active in exploring the region west of the Rocky Mountains and in promoting trade relations with the natives, running many risks at the hands of hostile tribes. He was an

admirable specimen of the men who served the Company so well. Their fearlessness, daring and endurance make them the modern counterpart of the Norse Vikings or the Elizabethan buccaneers. An amusing piece of evidence on the dangers of an explorer's life came to light about ten years ago, when a paper given to some Indians in the winter of 1838-39 by Campbell was recovered from members of the same tribe. It had been carefully preserved for fifty years as a relic of great value, and contained the following words: "This old scoundrel wishes me to give him a certificate of character. He has been trying to starve and murder me all winter.—Robert Campbell."

The various Guides to the Klondyke and the records of their experiences by miners published during 1898 need not all be mentioned here. Most of them are of a very ephemeral character. In addition to the books reviewed above, however, the following may be noted:

Report of W. T. Jennings, C.E., on Routes to the Yukon. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1898. This has special reference to the Stickine-Teslin route, personally examined by the author.

Pioneers of the Klondyke, being an account of two years' Police service on the Yukon, by M. H. E. Hayne and H. West Taylor. London: Sampson, Low & Co., 1897. Pp. 184. Based on the experiences of Mr. Hayne, and practically a narrative of those experiences by Mr. Taylor.

Gold Fields of the Klondike and the Wonders of Alaska, by Ernest Ingersoll, with an introduction by the Hon. Henry W. Elliott. New York: Rand, McNally & Co., 1897. Pp. 487. This ambitious work is described on the title-page as a "masterly and fascinating description of the newly-discovered gold mines." It is a miscellany of the most varied kind, from sources authoritative and otherwise, with numerous illustrations.

Through the Gold Fields of Alaska to Behring Strait, by Harry de Windt. London: Chatto & Windus, 1898. Pp. 312. About half of this book describes a journey made in 1896, the year previous to the Klondyke discovery, across the Chilkoot Pass and down the Yukon. The remainder relates to Behring Sea and the Asiatic coast.

To Klondyke and back—a journey down the Yukon from its source to its mouth, by J. H. E. Secretan, C.E. London: Hurst & Blackett, 1898. Pp. 260. A personal narrative, with the addition of hints to prospectors, mining laws, etc.

Geology of the Yukon Gold District, Alaska, by J. E. Spurr, U. S. Geological Survey, Washington, 1898. Pp. 392. This report is based upon field work done in 1896 by Mr. Spurr and assistants. It relates chiefly to Alaska, but covers also parts of the Canadian Yukon district. It is a valuable contribution to the geology of the region, and contains good illustrations and maps.

Geological Survey of Canada: Annual Report (new series) Volume IX., 1896. Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1898. Pp. xii, 816, xii.

Annual Report of the Minister of Mines of the Province of British Columbia, 1897. Victoria, B.C.: Richard Wolfenden, 1898. Pp. 640.

Seventh Report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines, 1897. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1898. Pp. 275.

The Routes and Mineral Resources of Northwestern Canada, by E. Jerome Dyer. Published under the auspices of the Incorporated London Chamber of Mines. London: George Philip & Son, 1898. Pp. 268, xx.

Canada's Metals; a lecture delivered at the Toronto meeting of the British Association, August 20, 1897, by Professor Roberts-Austen. London: Macmillan & Co., 1898. Pp. 46.

The latest volume of the Reports of the Geological Survey of Canada is as voluminous as usual and covers the usual wide range of subjects, including much and varied travel in wild regions, accounts of the plants and animals of portions of the Dominion, reports on the analysis of ores and minerals, and statistics of mineral production, in addition to the more purely geological and palæontological work which naturally fills most of the volume. There are numerous maps and illustrations accompanying the various reports, and the whole represents a most

valuable addition to our knowledge of various provinces and territories of the Dominion.

Of the reports dealing mainly with geographical exploration one has been discussed in the preceding article, and the others were published in 1897 and consequently received notice in the volume of this Review issued last year.

The Director's summary of the work done by the Survey during 1896 forms Report A. It gives a succinct account of the publications issued, of the explorations carried on by the various field parties and of the work done in the offices, laboratories and museum of the Survey during the year. Progress is reported on the classified index to the reports of the Survey since 1863, the number of references being 25,813. To this will be added 6,000 references in the indexing of the "Geology of Canada," published by Logan in 1863 as a summary of all previous reports since the inception of the Survey in 1843. It is intended to publish the general index as soon as possible and thus to render more accessible the great stores of information contained in the hitherto unindexed volumes before 1885. All geologists, and many others interested in the resources of Canada, will find the index a great boon. Unfortunately a number of the annual reports previous to 1863 are no longer obtainable, and as some of them give the detailed observations by which Logan was guided in founding the Laurentian and Huronian systems, now so actively discussed by American and Canadian geologists, it would be of value to have certain parts of critical importance republished. The large 1863 report gives no references to previous reports and does not often mention the authorities relied on for its statements, a serious lack in such a work. The new index will aid in verifying points of this kind. Details are given of the boring operations carried on for some years at Athabasca Landing to determine the depth and value of the supposed vast area of petroleum-bearing rocks. Owing to the soft and crumbling character of the cretaceous rocks penetrated, boring became impossible below 1736 feet, and at that point the oil-bearing beds had not been reached. The important economic question of the extent and value of the Devonian petroleum deposits of the

North-west is therefore still undecided. Reference is made in several sections to the extent of mining operations, especially for gold, in various provinces, but the provincial reports, noticed in other places, are fuller and render it unnecessary to make further mention of the subject here. Dr. Macoun's statements as to the cause of the treelessness of the prairies are of interest to all who desire the welfare of our great west. He finds that trees and bushes, forming clumps which arrest the snow, prosper, while those standing exposed perish. He strongly recommends the planting of hedges and windbreaks on the prairie. The failing of gas wells in Welland County is mentioned under the head of Mineral Statistics. It is scarcely agreeable to hear that the supply is rapidly falling off and will probably be exhausted in a few years. As practically the whole supply has been piped across the border to Buffalo, the province of Ontario has quietly seen a natural resource of much value handed over to a neighbour for no return whatever. The gas pressure in the Essex wells is still 400 lbs. to the square inch, but will of course steadily diminish. Most of the gas from Essex goes to Detroit.

Part I of the volume is Dr. Bell's report on the geology of the French River sheet, Ontario. Dr. Bell has been one of the most diligent pioneers in the reconnaissance work of the Canadian Geological Survey, and in this report with its map he sums up briefly the results of explorations carried out by himself and others since 1847, the most prominent early worker in the region having been Alexander Murray, Logan's assistant. There is little of historic or economic importance in the report, which covers areas of Laurentian, Huronian and Palæozoic rocks.

Report L, on a traverse of the northern part of the Labrador peninsula, from Richmond Gulf to Ungava Bay, by Mr. A. P. Low, presents much that is of interest to the geographer, and opens up regions little known to the geologist and naturalist. One of the most extraordinary finds of the journey was that of seals living in fresh water nearly one hundred miles from the sea and nearly eight hundred feet above it, probably evidences of a time of depression of that part of Labrador to sea level, or nearly so, at the close of the Ice Age. From the economic side this report

does not add greatly to the information gained by Low during his former expedition, when great beds of iron ores were discovered.

Part M, by Dr. L. W. Bailey, describes the geology of southwest Nova Scotia, and is illustrated with several excellent photographs. The report goes into considerable detail, sometimes drawing on Sir William Dawson's work of long ago. From the standpoint of this Review it is chiefly interesting for its references to the gold districts of Nova Scotia, mainly found in Queen's and Yarmouth Counties. The gold deposits are situated in anticlines of Cambrian quartzite and slate, and though often of low grade, furnish the basis of a prosperous mining industry. The minerals of the region are numerous and interesting, including handsome agates, jaspers, amethysts and garnets.

Part S, by Mr. Elfric Drew Ingall, presents the statistics of mines and minerals for 1896. Much of the information is put in tables representing the production of each mineral or metal for a series of years, so that variations may readily be traced. In the introduction it is stated that in 1886 the total mineral production of the country was valued at a little over ten millions of dollars. In 1896 it had increased to over twenty-two and one half millions, an advance of 125 per cent.; while in the same period the increase in the United States had been only about 40 per cent. It is added, however, that our production is in all only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of that of the United States, and that the *per capita* production of Canada is about \$4.50 as compared with about \$8.00 for our neighbours. It is evident that with the present rapid advance of our mining regions we shall soon overtake and perhaps greatly surpass them. Owing to our small population, however, many of our mineral products are exported, chiefly to the south, as ores or mattes which require smelting or refining; so that the more profitable part of the treatment is lost to us.

A summary in a few pages of the Mineral Production of Canada for 1897 has also been issued by the Survey. In this the amount and value of each product are given without details, and the table is headed "Subject to revision." The total is put at \$28,789,173, six millions more than in 1896, representing an advance of more than 26 per cent. for the year. Abrasives

form no very important part of our mineral production, though the new corundum area of Ontario, which may prove of value, gives a prospect of advance. Asbestos, of which the Eastern Townships of Quebec furnish the bulk of the world's supply, shows a distinct falling off in value from \$567,967 to \$324,700, as the result of lower prices. The product of coal is slowly increasing, and amounts to about three and three-quarter millions of tons in 1896, over two and a half millions mined in Nova Scotia and over one million in British Columbia. In the same year we imported over three million tons, one-half being anthracite, a variety produced in Canada only in Bow Pass in the Rocky Mountains. Coke shows a sudden increase in 1897 to 78,811 tons, an advance of more than 50 per cent. on the previous year. With the growing demand for coke in the British Columbian mining region, the coke production will do doubt continue to increase rapidly. The production of copper, which advanced rapidly from 1886 to 1893 and then stood still, shows a great increase in 1897, amounting to nearly 50 per cent. The figures for the latter year are 13,300,802 lbs., which make a brave showing, but might better appear as 6,650½ tons. Almost the whole increase comes from the Kootenay region, Ontario and Quebec standing still; and nearly all of our copper is exported as ore or matte to the United States. The output of gypsum slowly increases, and amounted in 1897 to 239,691 tons, two-thirds of this being quarried in Nova Scotia. The production of iron ore, in spite of the bounty of \$2.00 per ton on metal produced from Canadian ore, shows a falling off in 1896 and again in 1897, though the product of pig iron advanced in consequence of the operation of the smelter at Hamilton. Lead has advanced very rapidly, but almost the whole product comes from Kootenay, and is referred to below in connection with British Columbian statistics. It is all exported as ore to the United States, from which we reimport our supply of the metal in a more or less finished state of manufacture. Both mica and mineral waters show a sudden and great increase in 1897 as compared with 1896, the value of the latter reaching \$140,000. The production of nickel, which has remained nearly stationary for several years

with a gradual fall in price, amounted in 1897 to about 2,000 tons, all of which was shipped as matte to be refined in the United States. The output of petroleum remained nearly constant. The tables of gold production are particularly interesting, showing an important increase for several years and a sudden leap from \$2,780,086 in 1896 to \$6,190,000 in 1897, resulting, of course, mainly from the development of the Klondyke; though all the Canadian gold regions from the Atlantic to the Pacific show a gain, due to the increased interest taken of late in gold-mining. Silver shows a similar increase, resulting from the advance of mining in British Columbia. Salt shows no great variation, and the same may be said of structural materials.

There is much that is of interest both for the historian and the economist in these well arranged tables of the mineral production of Canada, particularly the rapid advance in the output of the more important metals. They show that the Dominion has passed the stage, at which it remained so long, of a country dependent on agriculture, lumber and fisheries. There are some indications also that she will soon enter on the smelting, refining and manufacturing of her own supplies of the chief metals, thus establishing important industries and paving the way to a great increase in population.

The Annual Report of the British Columbian Department of Mines begins, as usual, with a summary of the results of mining operations within the province from the earliest development to the present. From its tables we see that coal was the earliest object of mining operations, which commenced apparently in 1836; for it is stated that between 1836 and 1852, 10,000 tons were obtained—doubtless a rough estimate only. From 1852 to 1859, 25,396 long tons are reported; and henceforward there is a steady increase in production up to 1891, when high-water mark was reached—1,029,097 tons. In later years the production has remained stationary or slightly decreased. The production of coke for use in the Kootenay smelters and also for export to Mexican smelters affords a new outlet for British Columbian coal which may be of importance in the future. In 1895 and 1896 only 1,565 tons of coke were produced, while in 1897 the amount

rose to 17,831 tons. The production of placer gold, first reported for 1858, is shown in a lengthy table, up to 1892. In 1893 gold from lode mines was reported to the value of \$23,404; the figures have rapidly risen year by year to \$2,122,820 in 1897. If we add the production of placer gold for that year, \$513,520, we obtain a total of \$2,626,340, an immense increase for so short a time. Silver, first mined ten years before, shows a very striking increase also, being valued at \$3,272,836, an increase of more than \$1,000,000 since the previous year. The history of lead production closely parallels that of silver, since both are obtained from the same ores. The value in 1897 was \$1,390,517. Copper, the only other metal mined in considerable amounts, yielded \$266,258. The total mineral production for 1897 is given as \$10,455,268, an increase of nearly \$3,000,000 over that of the previous year. For a province of so small a population this production, chiefly of the precious metals and of coal, is astonishingly large, and the rapid increase is of great promise for the future.

The main part of the report is taken up with detailed accounts of mining affairs in the various districts of the province, commencing usually with extracts from reports of the Geological Survey of Canada which are applicable to each district. The report contains two maps and a number of well-printed photographs of various mines, many of which give glimpses of magnificent scenery. Mr. William A. Carlyle, Provincial Mineralogist, the capable author of the report, has since resigned his position to join one of the great mining companies of the province.

The Seventh Report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines contains in its 275 pages reports on a wide range of subjects, some of a purely geological nature, but most having the economic side prominent. During the past year these reports were brought out in three separate parts, which are now bound together and provided with a very full table of contents and an index. The volume opens with a brief report by the Director, Mr. Archibald Blue, on the results of mining in the province during 1897 and the first six months of 1898. This shows that the product of gold for the first half of 1898 was valued at \$133,744 as compared with

\$190,244 for the whole previous year. Silver once more appears in the statistics after an absence of some years, 19,207 ozs. having been produced in the Port Arthur district. The output of other metals, copper, nickel and iron, also shows an advance though not as much as do gold and silver. The total, however, for six months of 1898 amounts to \$840,811 as compared with \$1,042,779 for the whole previous year, evidence of a very marked improvement in mining matters in Ontario. The activity in mining circles is shown also by the increase in the revenues of the department and in the number and capitalization of mining companies in the province, no fewer than one hundred and forty companies with a combined nominal capital of \$101,531,000 having been formed in 1897. During the year a new mining division, that of Michipicoton, was opened, and a new system of locating claims introduced, by which, as in British Columbia, the prospector may stake his own claim.

Most of the interest manifested in mining was naturally in the direction of gold, though the cement manufacture, the making of paving brick, of calcium carbide and of peat fuel all made advances during the year. Fresh attention is being directed toward our immense nickel deposits, though the Canada Copper Company is still the only producer. The statistics of gold ore mined and of bullion produced show that the gold deposits, though often extensive, are low in grade, averaging only \$7.90 per ton. Detailed reports are given by the different mine inspectors for northwest Ontario, eastern Ontario and the Michipicoton mining division, showing increased production, particularly at Michipicoton and in the Lake of the Woods region.

Professor A. P. Coleman, geologist to the Bureau of Mines, assisted by Professor A. B. Willmott, made canoe trips of several hundred miles in northwest Ontario during the year, besides exploring and mapping the Grande Presqu'île in the Lake of the Woods. They also visited and report upon the Wahnapietæ gold region east of Sudbury, and the curious veins of anthraxolite or anthracite carbon which last year roused so many vain hopes that Ontario would be found to have a supply of coal. Professor Coleman writes also of the petrography of the region and pre-

sents a theory to account for the archæan mountains which once existed there, but are now worn down to a peneplain.

Mr. Parks contributes an account of an adventurous journey made in connection with Niven's survey party who were engaged in running a line towards Hudson Bay. He found no ore deposits of much promise. Professor Willmott explored the Michipicoton mining division, and describes the routes, mining prospects and general geology of the region. Professor W. G. Miller reports on the corundum region in the Counties of North Hastings and Renfrew in eastern Ontario, and shows that deposits of this mineral, so rare elsewhere, are found for a length of about seventy miles in connection with Laurentian syenites. Experiments made at the School of Mines, Kingston, show in some cases more than fifteen per cent. of the mineral, which may prove of very considerable value as an abrasive and ore of the metal aluminum. The reported golden sands of Vermilion River near Sudbury are proved by Mr. A. H. Gracey to contain gold, but only to a very limited extent, so that prospects for placer mines in Ontario are not encouraging. The report is neatly bound, is illustrated by many photographs and contains several maps.

In his preface to *The Routes and Mineral Resources of Northwestern Canada* the author mentions the need of an abridged handbook upon the mineral resources of northwestern Canada, especially since the Klondyke gold discoveries, and suggests that the possible routes should receive particular notice. He will be quite satisfied if his work directs attention "to the splendid work of the Geological Survey of Canada under the brilliant directorship of Dr. G. M. Dawson." Mr. Ogilvie also is mentioned appreciatively. The book is provided with a full list of authorities consulted and a very complete table of contents, miscalled an index. The work is, naturally, done from the standpoint of the London Chamber of Mines and contains no original contribution to our knowledge of the resources of the region, being based entirely on the authorities consulted. In this respect it represents an immense amount of research, ranging from Sir John Ross's exploration of Baffin's Bay in 1818 to the London *Times* for 1898. The first fifty-seven pages alone can lay any claim

to originality, the remainder of the book consisting of extracts from all kinds of publications. The writer speaks enthusiastically of the resources of northwestern Canada, including rather strangely the province of Ontario. He does not confine himself to the regions now attracting attention, western Ontario, British Columbia and the Klondyke, but includes the copper deposits of Arctic Canada and the coal of Melville Island. He lays some stress on the route from England to the Yukon *via* Hudson Bay, Chesterfield Inlet, and Mackenzie River, as the shortest possible. The route through Behring Straits, the Arctic sea and up the Mackenzie is also suggested as feasible.

The second part of the work, consisting of extracts, is very interesting for its heterogeneity. Dr. Dawson, Mr. Ogilvie and the Report of the Select Committee of the Senate to inquire into the resources of the Mackenzie basin are quoted most copiously, but there are extracts as well from Sir J. Richardson, Jameson and other explorers, and from the *Strand*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Globe*, the *Calgary Herald*, and from that reliable gentleman, Mr. Sola, who suggests that "gold may yet be demonetized owing to the prodigious yield which the Klondyke district will give." All the safe and conservative authorities are quoted, but the most reckless newspaper reports are given also with no comment to show that they have not equal value. It is only fair to add however that depreciatory and discouraging reports are given as well as extravagantly laudatory ones, showing an attempt to hold the balance fairly. The book was evidently prepared in a hurried way, and contains a number of minor mistakes and printer's errors. The Crow's Nest Pass becomes the "Crow's Pass" (p. 7), coarse gold is "course gold" (p. 61) and Dr. Dall appears on page 264 as Dr. Dael.

The brilliant evening lecture delivered by Professor Roberts-Austen at the Toronto meeting of the British Association attracted much attention at the time, both because of its interesting matter and from the striking experiments which accompanied it. The lecture was repeated later before the Imperial Institute, and is now published. In the first part of the lecture the geographical distribution of the chief metals, especially gold, silver, copper,

nickel, lead and iron, is outlined, with references to the history of the mining development of various parts of the Dominion. The latter part is devoted to a study of the properties of certain metals, especially nickel and its alloy with steel. It is pleasant to see so much interest taken in "Canada's Metals" by so prominent a British metallurgist as Professor Roberts-Austen; and it is to be hoped that his lecture on the subject will be widely read in Great Britain, where our great mineral deposits are only commencing to be known.

A. P. COLEMAN.

Annual Report of the Ontario Bureau of Industries for 1896, with an Appendix. Fifteenth year of issue. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1898. Pp. viii, 160, viii, 156, 48.

The Statistical Year-Book of Canada for 1897. Thirteenth year of issue. Issued by the Department of Agriculture. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1898. Pp. 554.

These two reports stand undoubtedly in the forefront of Canadian statistical publications, the one an extremely useful and valuable compendium of departmental returns, the other a compilation bearing on Ontario agriculture and matters immediately associated therewith (values, rents and farm wages, chattel mortgages, etc.) and on municipal conditions. This year an important and commendable innovation in connection with the latter publication is the issue of an appendix containing articles not of a strictly statistical nature, but of wide interest. The appendix contains four brief articles: 1, *Political and Social Arithmetic*, by S. Morley Wickett, Ph.D., Fellow in Political Science of the University of Toronto, which gives a survey of the history of statistics and concludes with a summary review and criticism of statistical work in Canada; 2, *The Growth of Municipal Institutions in Ontario*, considered from the statutory side, by C. R. W. Biggar, Q.C.; 3, *The Municipal Government of Ontario*, by C. C. James, M.A., Secretary of the Ontario Bureau of Industries, a short descriptive paper which we are informed will probably appear before long in more extended form, and 4, by the same

competent author, *The Development of Agriculture in Ontario*. In this paper Mr. James gives a short but able survey of the agricultural and economic past of Ontario. Particular attention is directed to the improvement in transportation facilities, the effect of scientific investigation upon agriculture, changes in methods of work and to co-operative associations.

"The most noticeable characteristic of agriculture in this province to-day is the intellectual progress manifest in so many ways. It is a hopeful sign of the times that farmers are asking for meetings and for specialists to address them—more requests than can be complied with; and that they are asking for reports and bulletins in greater number than our appropriations permit us to publish. . . . The seed that is now being sown cannot but yield a harvest that will some day astonish the people who are not directly engaged in agriculture or carefully following the development. There is opening up in your midst a new agriculture."

In the notes to this paper some useful literary references and other data are given.

The difference between Dominion and Ontario returns for the past year in respect of Ontario's gold output, which has led of late to some spirited comment, suggests once more the advisability of a more intimate connection between our federal and provincial statistical bureaus. The establishment of a statistical commission to embrace Dominion and provincial officials and journalistic and other professional representatives would be useful—all the more so in view of the approaching census. Such a body, at once consultative and executive in its activity, would undoubtedly be a powerful incentive to unified and capable statistical work throughout Canada, and would also encourage systematic economic research in fields which—seemingly of necessity—now lie fallow.

The Statistical Year-Book of Canada for 1897 furnishes the thirtieth year of complete statistics since the creation of the Dominion. We are therefore in a position to estimate comparative results for these three decades. We find that the foreign trade of Canada has practically doubled; it was \$131,027,532 in 1868 and \$257,168,862 in 1897. During the same time the population has increased from 3,791,594 to an estimated population of 5,185,990 in 1897. Foreign trade has therefore increased in much greater proportion than has the population. This trade is practically confined to Great Britain, the United States, and the

West Indies; if trade with all other countries were entirely cut off, Canada would be very little affected. The average foreign trade per head of population is twice that of the United States. Instead of a relative advantage, this, however, may be a real drawback, as indicating a very small home market. The number of post-offices in Canada has trebled since 1868. Two hundred and forty divorces in thirty years speak well for the stability of the marriage contract. In the last eleven years only eighty-seven death penalties have been inflicted, and of these twenty-three were in British Columbia—an indication of the rigorous administration of justice to meet the threatened lawlessness among the miners of that province. Much of interest could be gleaned from this book. It must be added that it has many defects. There should be a full analytical table of contents. The letterpress, explanatory of the statistics, should be extended, and the statistics themselves are for the most part badly arranged; they are often too voluminous, and in some respects inaccurate. What justification can there be for supposed precise information regarding the population of Canada in 1897 when there has been no census since 1891? The book is still too big for the amount of pertinent information that it contains, and parts of it, such as the elaborate lists of the countries of the world with their sovereigns, might well be omitted.

Steam Navigation and its Relation to the Commerce of Canada and the United States, by James Croil. Toronto: William Briggs, 1898. Pp. 381.

This is a volume which, as its author modestly states in his preface, is "a compilation of materials more or less intimately connected with steam navigation, gathered from many sources during many years." The statement very well indicates the contents of the book. It covers a large field and brings together a wide range of miscellaneous facts having but little connection with each other beyond their being all related in some way, near or distant, to steam navigation. The work at once disarms all

serious or searching criticism by making no pretensions, either in its method or its matter, to the presentation of any full or connected historic record or complete discussion of present conditions. Neither has it any economic or engineering theories to advance or any special conclusions to draw. Yet the work contains many interesting historic sketches, considerable economic data, and some popular discussion of transportation schemes. The book is essentially of a popular nature. The author has not taken either himself or his subject too seriously, but, in a very genial and chatty manner, discourses at large on the subject of steam navigation and matters grave and gay suggested thereby. Hence, for the most part, he is quite at the mercy of his materials, and mixes up bits of history, present conditions, biographical notes and personal reminiscences with the most delightful disregard of all rules of systematic treatment.

The body of the book is rather overloaded with miscellaneous statistics as to dimensions, equipment, speed, fuel consumption, etc., which, if they had been at all uniform or complete might have been conveniently and profitably condensed into a few tables. The author manages, however, to relieve the monotony of his diffused statistics by introducing a good deal of lighter descriptive matter after the manner of the familiar newspaper article. Indeed it would appear that the newspaper paragraph is the source of much of this material through the medium of the author's "capacious scrap-book." The titles of the chapters, it must be confessed, indicate a fairly distinct and systematic arrangement of materials. Thus we find the following sequence: The Dawn of Steam Navigation; Early Years of Steam Navigation; The Cunard Steamship Company; North Atlantic Steamship Companies; Steam to India and the East; Steam in the British Navy; The St. Lawrence Route; Steam on the Great Lakes; Steam Commerce of the Great Lakes; and, finally, Steam Navigation in all the Provinces of the Dominion and in Newfoundland. But when we come to look into the chapters, we find in most of them, especially the first two and the last four, a very miscellaneous treatment of the subject. Thus, to take a sample, in the chapter on The "Dawn of Steam Naviga-

tion," we get first some leisurely, chatty, personal and other reminiscences of voyages made across the Atlantic by sailing vessels. Then we have some few isolated historic items culminating in an account of Bell's *Comet*, with some interesting biographical notes about its inventor. This suggests the modern Clyde boats, and our author is immediately off on an enthusiastic description of the *Columbia*, her route, the number of passengers she carries, and the beautiful scenery she passes. This again suggests a brief comparison with the Thames steamers and their daily freight of two hundred thousand people, at a penny a mile. This in turn calls up by contrast Rhine and Swiss lake steamers, whose unique officers, imposing waiters and luxurious counter attractions to the scenery come in for a passing touch. Then we are back to fragments of history again and Fulton's *Clermont*. But the mention of the Hudson calls to mind the modern floating palaces of the Hudson and Fall River lines, and we are at once immersed in particulars as to the *Priscilla* and the *New York*. Mention of New York recalls her modern ferry-boats, which are next described. But ferry-boats again suggest the Shenango-railway ferry plying between Coneant, Ohio, and Port Dover, and with some particulars regarding these the chapter on "The Dawn of Steam Navigation" is safely brought to a close. The chapter on "The St. Lawrence Route" deals with various steamship companies sailing to the St. Lawrence during the summer, and it closes with a brief reference to the fast Atlantic service and Sir Sandford Fleming's criticisms on the proposed route. But much the greater part of the chapter is occupied with biographical sketches of various ships sailing to the St. Lawrence, and their captains. In the chapters dealing with the inland waters of the lake basin, Canadian and American, there is the same blending of materials. We have the ancient and modern, the commercial and nautical, biographical notes and sketches of canals keeping company in varying proportions throughout. In the chapter headed "Steam Commerce of the Great Lakes," there is a section which is undoubtedly the most valuable in the book. It deals with the transportation business and is descriptive rather than statistical, but it gives in brief compass a very excellent

account of the mechanism which exists for handling and transporting grain between the western prairies and the ocean steamers.

Only one matter of detail in the book seems to call for special remark. Naturally enough, considering the official notice which has been taken of it, the *Royal William* steamship occupies a very prominent place in the volume, in addition to affording a decoration for the cover. But the importance which has been given to the Atlantic voyage of this vessel is entirely out of proportion to its real significance in the history and development of steam navigation even in Canada. While no exception can be taken to the erection of a tablet commemorating the voyage, yet there seems to be a danger of Canadians making themselves a little ridiculous, in the eyes of the world, over this matter. Looked at from the points of view of skill, enterprise, foresight, priority, or contribution to the progress of steam navigation, there are at least a dozen other incidents in Canadian shipping which have prior claims to recognition. The crossing of the Atlantic was merely an accident in the career of the *Royal William*, and was in no way directly connected with the skill, enterprise or intentions of those who built her for the Quebec-Halifax route, upon which she sailed with success until the loss of trade brought her to sale by auction, when she passed into other hands. Her new owners, desiring merely to sell her at a profit, knew that this could be done if she were only across the Atlantic. They were finally induced to make the attempt on learning the experience of two other steam vessels, one from the United States and another from St. John, N.B., which had already crossed. The only new feature in the trip of the *Royal William* was that she used at least part of her machinery during the whole voyage. To do this, however, she employed practically all her carrying capacity for coal, hence her experience was decidedly discouraging to successors. Her owners, who sold her to advantage, had certainly no intention of repeating the experiment. Thus there is nothing in this incident to indicate an attempt to solve the problem of ocean steam navigation. But when we turn to the history of steam shipping on the St. Lawrence, upper and lower, and on the great lakes, we find numerous instances of

pioneering enterprise and skill, as shown in the building of vessels for special services, in which they succeeded, thus advancing the progress of steam navigation.

ADAM SHORTT.

In spite of the statement in the introduction to *Appleton's Canadian Guide Book*, by Charles G. D. Roberts (New York: Appleton), that the plan is based on the famous Baedeker handbooks, this guide-book is altogether of a different type. If it lacks the matter-of-fact commercial dulness of the German series, neither can it be said to possess their unimpeachable accuracy. It is an appreciative companion rather than a guide, and the exuberance of its admiration must not lead the tourist to place his expectations too high. The Jesuit church at Penetanguishene, for example, cannot with strict truth be described as "one of the finest ecclesiastical structures of the continent," nor can the Canadian Pacific railway stations at Montreal be called "palatial," except in the jargon of advertisement. The prominent and praiseworthy characteristic of the book is the emphasis it lays upon the historical and romantic associations of the various localities. This is only what might be expected in a guide-book revised by an historian of Canada who is also a charming poet and writer of romances. The incidents in the war of 1812 which redound to the credit of the Canadian defenders of their country are dwelt upon with pride, and the earlier and more adventurous history of French Canada and the Maritime provinces is freely used to give interest to the unpretending little towns and villages in those regions. In the matter of descriptive writing this book is also far superior to the ordinary guide-book. Not lavishness of epithet, but a real discrimination marks the passages where the natural scenery demands special notice. The impression produced upon an imaginative spectator by the saw-mills of Ottawa is an excellent example of Mr. Roberts' strong, picturesque style. Another feature that differentiates this guide-book from Baedeker's and other guide-books is the amount of importance attached to sport. Mr. Roberts is a fisherman, as he plainly informs us, and the needs of the sportsman-tourist are prominently before his eyes. Besides the notes as to the opportunities

for fishing and shooting afforded by each locality as it is described, an "Appendix for Sportsmen" is included which gives statistics of the preserved waters of Quebec and New Brunswick, including the names of the lessees, the amount of yearly rent and the amount of the catch for the year 1895. In one respect the book is a misnomer. It is not a "Canadian Guide-Book," but a guide-book to certain selected portions of Canada, to wit, eastern Ontario, Quebec, the Maritime provinces and Newfoundland. A brief sketch of the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Montreal to Victoria, and a few pages on the Yukon gold-fields are added, but not a word is said of the large and important area of western Ontario. In this district, as in much of Manitoba and British Columbia that is passed over in silence, there are railway facilities for the tourist and many interesting towns, besides some attractive scenery. With such omissions the title "Canadian Guide-Book, Complete," cannot be justified.

A Geography of North America by L. W. Lyde (London: Black) is a useful little book in which the main facts of the physical and economic geography of North America are clearly stated. To enable a school-boy to comprehend the great natural features of a continent and their separate and combined influence upon the life of the inhabitants is not an easy matter, but Mr. Lyde is an experienced hand at this kind of work and he does it well. Instead of a collection of statistical facts about various states, rivers, mountains and the like, taken in the order of their proximity, which was the old style of text-book, he gives us comparatively few details but a readable connected sketch under different topics in their application to the whole extent of North America. In the section devoted to the Dominion of Canada the author rightly emphasizes the exceptional natural advantages possessed by British Columbia, and prophesies a great commercial future for that portion of our territory. It is a pity that in his remarks on Newfoundland the author should have allowed himself to indulge in political criticism which, right or wrong, is out of place in a school text-book.

A Run Round the Empire, by Dr. Alex. Hill, (London: Sonnenschein, 1897) is a pleasantly written narrative of the journey of a Cambridge professor and his family round the world. They journeyed eastward, so that Canada came last in their experiences. Perhaps they were *blasé* with much sight-seeing, but British Columbia scenery did not seem to impress them greatly. They note the disagreeable effect in the landscape of a hillside that has been burnt over and complain of the frequency of such sights. The ceaseless watch that has to be kept over the mountain section of the Canadian Pacific railway and the army of workmen maintained there for the sole purpose of repairing breaches in the line from avalanches are spoken of with admiration and despair at the cost thus entailed upon the road. Ranching and farming in the North-west are briefly described, and Niagara and Montreal come in for much judicious appreciation. The admirable equipment of McGill University in scientific appliances made Dr. Hill envious.

"Professor Callendar took us over the physical laboratory, which is luxuriously complete. At home our students are always in advance of our plant for teaching and research. Here apparatus of all kinds, by the best makers, is waiting for students competent to use it. . . . The engineering laboratory at McGill is as complete as the physical, and behind the University is the beautiful Victoria Hospital. . . . Its pathological department filled Pater with admiration, for he does not know of any hospital in Europe so well equipped."

These words are a gratifying tribute to the wise liberality of Canadian men of wealth, and Dr. Hill's position as Master of Downing College, Cambridge, and Vice-Chancellor of the University, is a guarantee that they are not exaggerated praise.

Mr. David Christie Murray, in *The Cockney Columbus*, relates his discovery of America. On Canadian soil he discovered Niagara, the Canadian Pacific railway, and the Rocky Mountains, and describes them with all the enthusiasm of a pioneer. He very nearly discovered gold on the Klondyke, for he actually received permission from the Canadian Government to accompany the force of Mounted Police sent up to the gold-fields just before the great strike was made on Bonanza Creek, and he only drew back when he learned that there would be no way of return for him for eight months. His eulogy of the Mounted Police should

be gratifying to that efficient force, but it must be almost embarrassing to have one's private and personal qualities discussed with such frank and outspoken admiration as he accords to Captain Constantine, whom he met at Regina.

Two papers by Herr Albrecht Penck are the outcome of the transcontinental excursion taken by members of the British Association at the conclusion of the Toronto meeting in 1897. *Reisebeobachtungen aus Canada* is the title of one, read before the "Verein zur Verbreitung naturwissenschaftlicher Kenntnisse in Wien." He describes from a geologist's standpoint the scenery encountered by him in his voyage up the St. Lawrence from the Straits of Belle-Isle to Montreal, and along the line of the Canadian Pacific railway from Toronto to Victoria, B.C. He has also something to say of his scientific observations of the shores of Lake Ontario. Although he is occupied primarily with the geological history of the continent, he is also appreciative of the scenery. He speaks of the "indescribable grandeur" of the prairie when seen at sunset, and becomes enthusiastic over the British Columbian mountain scenery. At Sudbury and again at Rat Portage the party made a halt to inspect the mines. Herr Penck's estimate of the supposed anthracite discoveries near Sudbury is not encouraging, and his admiration is all for the industry which has sought out mineral deposits in such a wilderness. "Only a thorough exploration of the region," he says, "could lead to their discovery. Such exploration is in fact conducted by 'prospectors,' who traverse North America in every direction even to the remotest recesses of primeval forest in the search for iron and coal." At Sudbury the party was taken some little distance from the settlements to see the coal-mining operations. Herr Penck was much astonished at the trail through the woods. "We then followed a small Indian path, a so-called 'trail,' into the deep woods; sometimes we had to climb over fallen trees and sometimes to scramble under them." He gives a photographic illustration here of the "Path through the primeval forests," which is certainly suggestive of much climbing over and scrambling under. Herr Penck's second paper was contributed to the

"Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Oesterreichischen Alpenvereins," and is a description of the Illecillewaet Glacier in the Selkirk mountains. This glacier has several distinguishing features. It is conveniently situated within a short walk from a railway station, it is very clean, having no upper moraine, and it is receding rapidly. Two photographs of the glacier accompany the paper, taken practically from the same place, one in 1888, the other in 1897. The shrunken appearance of the glacier in the latter photograph is remarkable. There is also the testimony of a traveller in 1888, the Reverend W. S. Green, that the tongue of the glacier at that time came right up to the bushes that are now separated from it by a hundred yards or more of rubbish.

Trail and Campfire (New York: Forest and Stream Publishing Co.) is a collection of papers on sporting subjects. Those which relate to Canada are one on the Labrador Peninsula by Mr. A. P. Low, and two descriptions of caribou-hunting by Mr. C. Grant La Farge and Mr. C. A. Pierce. The latter gentleman writes a lively account of what was evidently a most successful hunt. The multitudes of caribou that he saw are a satisfactory evidence that the big game of Newfoundland has not suffered much diminution. Mr. La Farge's paper, originally contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly*, is a well-written picture of winter hunting in the province of Quebec. His condemnation of the lumbermen for spoiling most of the tree-surrounded lakes by damming up their outlet will be read with sympathy by all lovers of unexploited nature. The chief contribution to the volume, from a Canadian standpoint, is Mr. Low's paper on Labrador. He begins with an historical sketch of the various expeditions of discovery and exploration that have traversed the country. The Norsemen and John Cabot are boldly claimed as the earliest European visitors. In the geographical description of the peninsula that follows, the author gives an agreeable summary of information which is contained in greater fulness of detail in his official reports communicated to the Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, and printed in the reports of the latter for the years 1896-97. The bulk of the article is, however, devoted

to a description of the various animals and fish that are the object of the sportsman, and in this connection some valuable information is given as to means of travel and necessary equipment. He relates a curious instance of Nature's vengeance, in explaining that great slaughter of caribou by the Indians in one year means the disappearance of the animal from those regions the next, with the consequence that the Indians die of starvation in large numbers. Another cause of temporary scarcity of game is the destructive forest fires, which sweep away the coverts and food of the woodland caribou. There appears to be great fluctuation in the size of the herds of deer, but they increase very fast under favourable conditions, and there should be no danger of extermination with such vast tracts of unknown wilderness to roam over. The main attraction of Labrador for the sportsman is its fishing. The rivers flowing into the Atlantic and Hudson Bay are breeding-grounds for salmon no less than the rivers flowing into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but no adequate protection has ever been given to the salmon in the region under jurisdiction of Newfoundland, and the cod fishermen have ruined the salmon fishing by "trapping" them. The Ouananiche, which Mr. Low considers to be the original salmon, of which the sea-going salmon is a "sport," is found in many of the Labrador lakes and rivers, and brook trout of appetizing size are also mentioned. Travel is evidently very arduous work in the peninsula; canoeing in summer and walking in winter are the only means of traversing the country, and the difficulty of keeping an expedition supplied with food is emphasized very strongly. The volume is well printed and bound, and contains two excellent drawings of wolves by Mr. E. Seton Thompson, reprinted from "Forest and Stream."

Mr. J. Gordon Mowat's paper in the Canadian Magazine for November, entitled *Where Summers are Long: A Comparison of Canadian and European Summers*, was well worth writing. The legend of a well-nigh perpetually ice-bound Canada has been steadily losing ground of late years; but such a compilation of thermal statistics and comparisons of latitudes as is here

made should do much to discredit it altogether. Even to many Canadians the statements that Toronto lies south of Florence, that "Ottawa and Montreal correspond in latitude with Milan and Venice," and that London, England, is actually fifteen miles further north than Moose Fort on James Bay, will come as a surprise. The table of mean monthly temperatures from May to September inclusive, at representative places in Great Britain, Ireland, France, and the most settled portion of Ontario, shows that the summer heat of southern Ontario corresponds most closely to that of France. As evidence of the general climatic conditions existing in that part of Ontario, some space is devoted to an enumeration of the more sensitive fruits which flourish there. The writer estimates that the available peach-growing area exceeds nine thousand square miles, and that the lands adapted for vine-culture embrace more than twenty-five thousand square miles.

Professor Adam Shortt, of Queen's University, in his four papers on *The Early History of Canadian Banking* (Toronto: Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association), discusses Canadian currency and exchange under French rule. These papers are based upon original material, and are a valuable contribution to Canadian economic history. Professor Shortt shows that at different times beaver and moose skins, wheat, and, at Louisbourg, codfish were legal tender in Canada. Although a special coinage for Canada was often discussed, it was never created, and French coins were current at twenty-five per cent. increase upon their value in France. The balance of trade was nearly always against Canada. In 1664 when there was some surplus grain, French-Canadians naively request Louis XIV to send out a regiment with money to buy the grain and eat it in the country. The "card money" came into use in 1685 to pay the troops, pending the arrival of specie from France. The cards, similar in form to playing cards, with the written promise of the Government upon them, were circulated freely, and at first were redeemed when the ships arrived. Soon, however, they remained permanently in circulation, and in 1713 Louis XIV's misfortunes brought

about the repudiation of one-half of the face value of the cards. Their issue ceased in 1719, but again in 1729 the Government resorted to this method of finance. Coinage passed out of circulation, not, however, Professor Shortt thinks, out of the country, for the national instinct for hoarding was strong in both the Canadian and the Acadian, and after the English conquest much of this hoarded money reappeared. Bigot became Intendant of Canada in 1748—"a man of exceptional ability, insight and largeness of view." Under him the card money was no longer written but printed, and its volume increased enormously. Bigot, Professor Shortt admits, was grossly corrupt, but this was a disease of the time from which English administrators in India were not free. There was heavy expenditure upon the posts in the interior, and Bigot claimed that he had no control over the enormous sums that the Government was called upon to pay—by paper ordinances as it did. The series ends with the conquest and Professor Shortt promises the interesting study of the ultimate fate of French paper money in Canada. Twenty years later Great Britain faced a similar problem in regard to the colonies that she had lost. The early history of Canadian currency reveals some novel aspects of paper money. Professor Shortt, in his limited space deals not only with currency but with general economic history, and this at times somewhat confuses the reader. It is to be hoped that he will devote a special work to Canadian economic history. No one is better qualified than he to do justice to the subject.

The Bargain Theory of Wages, by John Davidson (New York: Putnam), is essentially a work dealing with economic theory, and cannot, in its main subject, find a place in this Review. Yet in working out the problems of wages, Professor Davidson has used, as far as possible, Canadian as well as other data, and it is on this ground that the book is here taken up. The very fragmentary and miscellaneous nature of most Canadian statistics, especially those relating to labour, makes it very difficult to use them with any degree of safety or accuracy, and though Professor Davidson is usually very careful, yet, owing evidently to a cer-

tain unfamiliarity with the varied features of the Dominion, he has not always succeeded in drawing reliable conclusions from his Canadian data. In a large and important part of his work dealing with the mobility of labour, involving a discussion of the effects of migration on the wages problem, he makes copious references to Canadian census returns, and usually reaches sound conclusions. He brings forward, for instance, from the last three census reports and from American sources, evidence to show that the movement of population in Canada is mainly from the older provinces to the United States, and very seldom from one province to another, with the exception of the movement from Ontario to Manitoba. One of the most remarkable features of the case is that, notwithstanding the great facilities for inter-provincial communication which have been provided at enormous cost, yet, on the whole, Canadians scarcely passed as freely from one province to another between 1881 and 1891 as between 1871 and 1881. This indicates that the attractions of the neighbouring States and the facilities for reaching them quite counteracted the efforts made by Canada to permit movement and outlet for her population within her own borders. Taking an instance on the other side, we find on page 212 a comparative table of tenants and house owners among labourers, showing the total earnings of each and the number of days of employment in the year for twenty-one cities and towns in Ontario. Accompanying this is a diagrammatic tracing of the results. But neither the conclusions which the author draws from these figures, nor dozens of other conclusions which might equally well be drawn can be of any value, for, quite apart from the doubtful accuracy of the figures themselves, one who is at all familiar with the towns will recognize that there is no basis for accurate comparison between them. There are scarcely any two on the same level as regards the nature of the employment to be found in them, the proportion of the labouring class to the rest of the townspeople, the social condition of the labourers, whether the towns are progressive or the reverse, and a dozen other minor considerations, all interfering with the accuracy of any comparisons made between tenants and owners. Attempts to make use of Canadian material as a basis for the

treatment of questions in theoretic economics have hitherto been rare. But only by making the effort can the inadequate character of our statistics be brought to light, and sufficient attention be attracted to the subject to make a basis for urging their improvement in both quantity and quality.

Mr. J. S. Willison, the Editor of the *Toronto Globe*, has in the Proceedings of the Canadian Institute a lucid article on *The Transportation Question*. He deprecates irrational attack upon the powerful railway corporations in Canada, and shows how much they have done in opening up a new country, and how much the well-being of Canada is tied up with their credit. That the Canadian Pacific Railway, running through thousands of miles of waste or sparsely settled country, should have a good place as a paying enterprise in the great money markets of the world, he regards as a marvel. Yet he makes serious charges against the railway companies. They discriminate against domestic producers. Goods from the United States are sometimes carried in Canada at rates so much lower than those of domestic origin, that the advantages of the high Canadian tariff are wiped out.

"Live stock is carried from Chicago to Montreal for as low rates as are charged from points in western Ontario to the commercial capital. Grain is carried from Winnipeg to Fort William, five hundred miles, for seventeen and a half cents per hundred, and from Fort William to Montreal, fifteen hundred miles, for twenty cents per hundred. On the main line of the Canadian Pacific the passenger rate between stations is five cents a mile all through British Columbia, while the through rate from older Canada to Vancouver is less than half a cent a mile. On freight shipped to Kamloops, Ashcroft, and other points along the main line of the road in the interior of British Columbia the charge is the same as if the goods were shipped through to Vancouver, and brought back, two, three, or four hundred miles to the point of destination. It has been established that a carload of self-binders is carried from Toronto to Australia for less than the through charge to the Northwest" (p. 140).

In the Northwest, too, the railways control vast tracts of unoccupied land upon which they pay no taxes. The Government of the day can do nothing to promote settlement on these lands, and the country is thus largely at the mercy of the railways. Mr. Willison discusses incidentally the transportation question in England, where the railways, with one hundred and forty of their directors in Parliament, have enormous political

power. They too discriminate in favour of the foreigner. Their rates are far too high, and it happens that products are carried from Calcutta or New York to London at rates lower than those from mid-England to London. He thinks a formidable movement for State ownership of the railways is imminent in England, and that the economy which could be effected in management would enable the State greatly to reduce rates, to pay interest on the money required to buy the railways, and still to have something to the good. In Canada as in England he thinks the ultimate solution will be State ownership. Meanwhile the policy of the movement should be to have a strong railway commission to control the railways in the interest of the people. The paper is an admirable treatment of a pressing question.

In an article entitled *The St. Lawrence Route and the Manitoba Grain Trade* in the September issue of the Canadian Magazine, Mr. Edward Farrer discusses the reasons for the great mass of Manitoba export wheat being shipped from United States ports instead of from Montreal, and the possibility of keeping its carriage more within the Dominion. The early closing of navigation at Montreal, the absence there of protection to the shipper derived from a speculative market, and the relative cheapness of American lines are facts which militate against the Canadian route. Nevertheless the writer thinks that something might be done to increase materially the grain carriage by way of our own ports. He says:

"The true if not the only way of recovering the Manitoba traffic for the St. Lawrence route is for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to put large grain steamers, with barge consort, between Fort William and Owen Sound, running then in connection with the railway at Fort William and with a first-class ocean steamship line owned by the company at Montreal, so that the Manitoba shipper can get a through rate and through bill of lading direct from the elevator at Brandon, Morris or Indian Head to Liverpool."

He finally urges strongly the enlargement and modernizing of the Montreal harbour, as a Dominion work, and gives figures to prove how the Ontario, as well as the Manitoba, farmer would benefit by the establishment of Canadian lines of vessels of largest modern capacity.

The first number of the Economic Series of University of Toronto Studies is *Public Debts in Canada*, by Mr. J. Roy Perry (Toronto: The University Library). The history of Canada's debt is the financial history of the country's progress, for, as Mr. Perry points out, expenditure on wars and on preparation for wars, which makes up the bulk of the debts of the European countries, has been almost unknown in Canada. The great railways and systems of canals have been the chief items of cost in the past and to all appearance will continue to be so in the future. The first part of the paper is devoted to the debt of the Dominion of Canada. This, of course, began at Confederation, when certain existing liabilities of the various provinces were assumed by the new Federal Government. The author divides the history of the Federal debt into three periods, each roughly speaking of ten years. The first was marked by slow and cautious development. The country was still feeling its way and doubtful of the future. The second period, from 1875 to 1885, was that of the construction of the Canadian Pacific railway, a prodigious investment, made under the influence of high hopes of future prosperity. In the third period, these hopes seemed doomed to disappointment. Commercial depression was universal and its effect was manifest in the revenue. Consequently very slight yearly additions were made to the debt. What the policy of the next ten years is to be can be faintly guessed; it seems probable that a great effort will be made, involving heavy increase in our national debt, to establish such systems of railway and waterway as will render Canada altogether independent of the transportation routes to the seaboard now controlled by her neighbours to the south. On the whole, Mr. Perry's statistics and explanations make out that a wise as well as progressive financial policy has hitherto prevailed at Ottawa. But in the second and third parts of his paper, relating to provincial, municipal and rural debts, he does not find the same cause for congratulation. The province of Quebec has a heavy debt, over \$33,000,000, which is necessitating a policy of rigid economy in the administration. Many towns and municipalities have incurred a burden of debt which in some cases has proved too much for their interest-paying powers, and relief by the legislature and

compromises with bond-holders have been among the remedies sought. The numerous tables that accompany the paper are taken from the Public Accounts of the Dominion and provinces. There are a number of errors of detail in the paper and the author is hardly justified in relying as trustfully as he does upon partizan budget speeches for statistical information.

Prince Kropotkin's article on *Some of the Resources of Canada* in the Nineteenth Century for March deals rather with social questions than with resources, and has especial interest as having led to the large Doukhobor emigration to Canada. He was struck by the likeness between the geographical features of Canada and those of the old world in the same latitude, eastern Canada corresponding to western Europe, and the west to the Russian east. On the prairies he might have imagined himself on a south Russian steppe.

" 'How monotonous !' was soon remarked by my west European friends, while I thought to myself: 'What an infinite variety of life in these steppes !' The poetry of the steppe is an unknown chapter to the western European, even to the middle Russian. . . . One must have lived in the steppes, rambled over them on horseback about and after sunset, inhaled the perfume of the mowed grasses, spent the night in the open air, crossed the boundless spaces in sledges with the galloping horses, to realize and to feel the beauty of the steppes. He who was born in such surroundings feels homesick elsewhere ; mountain valleys oppress him, make him feel as a bird in a cage."

He was of course interested in the Mennonites. They are grouped in villages and hold the land in common. They are admittedly the wealthiest settlers in their neighbourhood and their villages are attractive, the streets wide, the houses spacious ; they have planted besides many trees, an example which it is to be hoped their neighbours will imitate. Prince Kropotkin admits that the communal government is oppressive to the younger generation. The elders are suspicious of innovations. The result is that the young men often leave the settlements ; and probably these communities will in time be assimilated to other Canadian villages. The author criticizes the land policy which has been adopted in the Canadian North-west. Railway companies or trading corporations hold practically every alternate section of land. He wonders at the vast uninhabited spaces on the face of the globe, and thinks that they are due to unwise monopolies

of land. Here in the Canadian North-west is surely a threatening problem of this character. The land is fertile but the climate, he thinks, is a barrier to extensive immigration. A capital of at least \$500 is needed to begin with. The following picture may bring some comfort to those interested in higher education.

" 'Don't you feel lonely here?' I asked a stout elderly woman, who showed me her butter and her excellent rye-bread, which I could better appreciate than my Canadian friend. 'No.' 'But in case of illness?' 'We are never ill,' I got at once the reply; 'and we women help each other; I have helped many since we came here.' Happily the climate is really very healthy, and, the settlers being scattered, there is not much danger from contagious diseases. Otherwise they would be ruined if they had to call the doctor. The fee is, I was told, one dollar for each mile, up and down. Such fees are the best reply to the fears which I heard expressed at Toronto—whether there is not too much university education in Canada? Too many lawyers, I gladly admit, but surely not too many doctors; and plenty of room for widening the education of the teachers, especially in natural sciences and hygiene."

The Reports of Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute (London, 1898) furnish from year to year a collection of facts and opinions relating to Indian, colonial and imperial affairs. In the volume for 1897-98 only one paper is devoted especially to a Canadian subject. Mr. Edgar P. Rathbone, writing on *The Gold-fields of Ontario and British Columbia*, of which in both provinces he has personal experience, testifies to the richness of British Columbian deposits and to the advantages they offer for the investment for British capital. He complains of the mining laws of Ontario as tending to retard the development of its gold areas, both by requiring a costly survey to be handed to the Government at too early a stage of the mining work and in encouraging the location of more claims than the holders can work, as well as in not enforcing the publication of statistical information as a guide to investors. He notes, however, the advantage which the miners in western Ontario enjoy from their geographical position, viz., cheapness of food and fuel, transportation facilities, and consequent relative cheapness of mining materials.

Mr. James Bain, Jr., writes on *Public Libraries in Canada* in the Proceedings of the Canadian Institute. Not until 1756

was a newspaper—the Halifax Gazette—published in Canada. In 1779 some officers and merchants at Quebec organized a subscription library. This was said in 1806 to be the only public library in Canada, and what remains of it is now in the library of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. Mr. Bain traces the development of libraries in Canada and gives statistics. He points out, however, that in Ontario, the province best furnished with libraries, there is not yet a reference library in any proper sense; Canadian scholars must still go to Boston or New York when engaged in research. His paper has the practical purpose of aiming at establishing in Toronto under Government auspices a really adequate reference library. He has, too, a plan for reaching rural Ontario. A system of travelling libraries has worked well in New York, Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin. A hundred books packed in a neat case are sent to a chosen rural centre. Here they remain six months for the use of the people, and then a new case with one hundred other books arrives to replace them. The books are thus selected not by ignorant settlers, but by experienced librarians with the best assistance that a large library can supply.

Mr. A. C. Casselman has an article in the Canadian Magazine for July on *The Postage Stamps of Canada*, which contains matter of interest to the general reader as well as to the philatelist. It includes an historical outline of postal development in British North America within the past fifty years, showing the successive stages of political advance marked by the several stamp issues of the various colonies since 1850 and 1851. An amusing anecdote records how the design of a five-cent stamp precipitated the resignation of a New Brunswick postmaster-general. This gentleman had caused his own head to be engraved upon the stamp. The other members of the Council objected to the decoration, and the postmaster-general resigned.

Hazell's Annual for 1899 contains the usual amount of information on all conceivable topics. There are no new articles on matters relating to Canada. The article on Canada contains a

good summary of the political events of 1898 ; but a curious mistake is made in calling Mr. J. Charlton, one of the Canadian representatives on the International Joint Commission, "a member of the Dominion Congress." The paragraph on Anticosti is not quite up to date, and Ontario is not "also called Upper Canada."

Whitaker's Almanack for 1898 (London : Whitaker), besides giving valuable statistical information as to the natural resources and present development of Canada, mentions some facts much needed abroad, with respect to its climate. The mild winters of the south-western prairies, of southern British Columbia and of Nova Scotia have justice done them. South-western Ontario might have been added to the list. Provision for systematic agricultural education has long been made at the Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph ; the Agricultural College and Experimental Farm near Truro, Nova Scotia, for both men and women, and the Experimental Farm established by the Dominion Government, near Ottawa, with branches in the several provinces, are also doing excellent work. The *Almanack's* information relating to Canada shows great care in its preparation, though the statistics are not generally of later date than 1896.

V. ARCHÆOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY AND FOLK-LORE

Annual Archæological Report, 1897-8, being part of the Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario. Printed by order of the Legislative Assembly: Toronto, 1898. Pp. 87.

University of the State of New York. Bulletin of the New York State Museum, Vol. IV., No. 16: Aboriginal Chipped Stone Implements of New York. Prepared by William M. Beauchamp, Albany, 1897. Pp. 84; 212 Fig.

Ibid., Vol. IV., No. 18: Polished Stone Articles used by the New York Aborigines before and during European Occupation. Albany, 1897. Pp. 102; 245 Fig.

Ibid., Vol. V., No. 22: Earthenware of the New York Aborigines. Albany, 1898. Pp. 146; 245 Fig.

The reports of Mr. David Boyle, for Ontario, and of Dr. Beauchamp, for New York, continue to be the most valuable contributions to the archæology of the region to which, in many respects, both countries belong as one. Mr. Boyle's report deals with additions to the museum, notes on specimens, descriptions of earthworks, ossuaries, etc., and an account of two old maps of Canada (Sanson's and one of much later date). Pages 51-65 of the Report are occupied by an account of the archæology of "Balsam Lake and Vicinity," and pages 67-87 by a second section of a "Bibliography of the Archæology of Ontario," by A. F. Hunter, M.A., in which some 280 titles are enumerated and described, the references to newspaper articles being especially valuable. The most interesting objects figured in the Report are, perhaps, the so-called "Jesuit Stone" (a water-worn stone with the date 1641 carved upon it) thought to be connected with the journey of the Jesuit Fathers, Brébeuf and Chaumonot, through central Ontario in the spring of the year 1641, and a New Hebridean "pudding-dish" of wood, which leads Mr. Boyle to observe (p. 3), that "we are not warranted in supposing that our Indians ever made any but the simplest attempts in wood-carving; still, even these must have been slow and laborious."

Dr. Beauchamp's detailed descriptions of specimens with figures are very valuable for comparison with the corresponding data in Mr. Boyle's numerous reports. The distinguished New York archæologist tells us that—

"Grooved axes are rare in New York and Canada, and probably were never used by the Huron-Iroquois family. Chipped implements of an axe-like form are no more plentiful in New York, while the common celt, or polished stone axe, without grooves, is both abundant and variable. These were used by the Iroquois, even after White contact."

Certain forms of scrapers seem to suggest pre-Iroquoian Eskimo occupation of parts of the State of New York, and the disappearance of these in recent prehistoric times "argues a great and sudden change in the dwellers or visitors there." The pipes from Canada, we learn, are equally fine with those from New York, and a very interesting bird pipe of dark green slate is noted as closely resembling one of like sort in the Ontario collection at Toronto. Bird amulets also afford opportunity for interesting comparison between the two countries. Double-edged slate knives are "about as common in some parts of Canada as in New York, being most abundant on both sides of Lake Ontario." The "woman's knife," said to be unknown to the Iroquois, and looked upon as evidence of Eskimo contact, is "far from rare on both sides of Lake Ontario, but most frequent toward the eastern end, the part most accessible to the Eskimo." Of the so-called "banner stones" nearly all of the varieties usually described occur in New York and Ontario, and grooved axes are about equally rare in both countries.

Dr. Beauchamp agrees with Professor W. H. Holmes that the pottery of Manitoba "has decided relationships with the ware of the eastern and north-eastern States," and looks with favour on Mr. Cushing's suggestion that the angular forms of many Iroquois vessels may be due to their bark originals. Of great importance in the consideration of archæological statistics and cartography is Dr. Beauchamp's observation:

"Early Iroquois villages were removed every ten or fifteen years, and a liberal allowance of time would give six or more removals in a century. A dozen sites, and often many more, would thus be acquired in two hundred years for a single village. The Mohawks had from three to four or more towns at a time, and the Senecas never less than four. The latter would thus occupy and abandon nearly or quite fifty places in two centuries. It is

thus obvious that for any long period of continuous occupation we must reduce the population to a very small number. On the other hand, if we allow a moderate strength to any people we reduce the time of occupation."

This must be taken in connection with the further statement: "The reciprocal influence of New York and Canada forms a curious study, commerce, migration, peace and war, all contributing their part."

ALEX. F. CHAMBERLAIN.

The Dénés of America Identified with the Tungus of Asia. By the Rev. John Campbell (Transactions of the Canadian Institute [Toronto], Vol. V., Pt. 2, May, 1898).

The Origin of the Haidahs of the Queen Charlotte Islands. By John Campbell, LL.D., (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1897.)

The Culture Status of the American Indian at the Period of his Discovery. D. G. Brinton, J. D. McGuire, W. M. Beauchamp, C. C. Abbott, W. H. Holmes. (American Archæologist [Columbus, O.], Vol. II., Pt. 2, February, 1898).

Whence came the American Indians? Major J. W. Powell. (Forum, Vol. XXIV., 1898).

The People of the Long House. By Edward Marion Chadwick, Shagotyohgwisaks, Honorary Chief. Toronto: The Church of England Publishing Co., Limited, 1897. Pp. 166.

It does not seem possible for certain able and very industrious writers to conceive that the unity of the human race and of its psychical endowment makes re-inventions, re-discoveries, repetitions and resemblances common everywhere over the habitable globe; otherwise Professor Campbell's paper on the Déné had never been published. A study of the etymologies of the fifty-seven names of Déné tribes, which the author claims as Tungusic, ought to dispel any illusion as to their Asiatic affinities; such names as Coyotero, Jicarilla, Lipan, Faraon, Llanero, Mescalero, etc., are so far from being Tungusic that they are not even Déné. And so with the rest of the airy castle Professor Campbell has constructed. That "the Othomis of Mexico are the most ancient

Tungusian colonists of America," and that "the genealogy of the Tungus family is given, in a scattered form, in the genealogies of First Chronicles," are theories absolutely devoid of probability and innocent of proof altogether. Only the author's ripe imagination can account for the wonders of Canaanite-Hittite-Turanian-American mythology and history which he turns to such curious account in the elaboration of his impossible theory.

In another paper, which finds place in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Professor Campbell seeks to prove, by a like easy and unscientific method, that the language of the Haidahs is Melanesian. He goes so far as to give us the date (about 1500 A.D.) when the Melanesian immigrants entered America. The admissions which his theory necessitates are quite interesting. "The original Melanesian type, of which the Haidah is a rescript, is lost," he tells us. But "although the ocean route of the Haidahs may never be known, the fact of it is proved, as conclusively as if its log were written, by the facts [*sic*] of comparative philology." This essay is worse than the other, for it misreads race as well as speech. The Haidahs are certainly not Melanesian by blood, and Professor Campbell has not succeeded in proving that they are so by speech.

An antidote to Professor Campbell is the paper of Major Powell, whose scientific training and long acquaintance with the Indian tribes add to the weight and wisdom of his words. We must consider the American Indian autochthonous until we can prove him an immigrant, and a recent immigrant he is not. America has been the seat of the evolution of a race, not the goal of "the rag-tag and bob-tail" of the Asiatic hordes. Not "Mongolian" anarchy, but the slow growth of ages has produced what we now see in the New World.

The symposium on the culture status of the American Indian at the time of his discovery is an example of how eminent authorities can differ upon what at first sight seems a simple subject. According to Dr. Brinton "in the American race, at the time of the discovery, we see a race in its decline, drifting toward deeper savagery, toward degradation and degeneration"—the

"civilizations" of the Ohio, Mississippi valley, Arizona and New Mexico, the "dead cities" of old Mexico and Central America, the ruin-filled land of the Incas, the stone monuments of Tucuman in Argentina, all tell the same tale, while the wandering savages of the north but serve to emphasize it more. Mr. McGuire, from the point of view of the expert in the study of implements and the arts connected therewith, sees "absolutely no reason to believe that the native had receded in culture anywhere on the continent," and Dr. W. M. Beauchamp observes that the proof is too voluminous which exists to show that the Iroquois family "was progressive and had not attained its highest possible culture in any way." About the same might be said of the Algonkian tribes. Professor W. H. Holmes's strongly optimistic opinion (and he is probably in the right) is that "on the whole a steady advance was going on," and that the Indians were in no state of senility, either mentally or physically. There is very good reason to believe that at the epoch of the discovery the American Indians "were on the threshold of a career that would have led in good time to the full utilization of the boundless resources of the country."

Major Chadwick's book, *The People of the Long House*, of which the attractive binding and excellent typography are far from being its greatest merits, is written in an interesting style, and contains much valuable information concerning the Canadian Iroquois, an Indian people in the midst of a white man's civilization. Not a little of the author's data seem to be derived from the older authorities, but Major Chadwick has made up for this by the novelty of some of his own contributions. Besides a historical sketch of the "People of the Longhouse, Iroquois or Six Nations (formerly Five Nations)," their government, laws, customs of marriage, adoption, war, costume, wampum, dances, etc., the volume contains a roll of the chiefs of the Great Council, a list of the honorary chiefs, and an essay on the Indian character.

On page 29 Mr. Brant Sero suggests the derivation of the word Iroquois from the root *iro*, "tree," these Indians being typical "tree-pickers" (bark-cutters), as the name would then mean—but this is very doubtful. Major Chadwick allots the white

man his full share in the degradation of the Indian, and the following statement must carry great weight:

It is but just to the Pagans, of whom there are some eight hundred still remaining on the Reserve, and who are more tenacious of their ancient customs than the Christians, to note that they deprecate divorce and insist on the permanence of marriage much more than the Christianized Indians do" (p. 59).

It must make some of the ancient Iroquois turn uneasily in their graves to think of the four remaining belts of wampum being kept in a fire-proof safe (p. 77). Another interesting fact is that "the chiefs are a little jealous of their prerogative in the matter of old clothes, and expect honorary chiefs and adopted white women to appear well dressed," hence, "the wife of a well-known dignitary of the Church" lost the respect of the Indians on account of her shabby gloves (p. 79). Some statistics of English surnames in use on the Reserve are given (p. 106), from which we learn that the order of frequency is: Hill, 313; Martin, 132; Green, 122; Johnson, 104; Claus, 82; Staats, 59; Garlow, 52; Smith, 40—quite a curious list.

In his "Remarks on the Indian Character" (pp. 119-153) the author comes to the conclusion that the Indian

"is naturally a splendid specimen of humanity, and if civilization had been brought to him in an honest and honourable manner, his history would have been far different from what it has been, and his position among nations far different from what it is,"

a statement which the well-known political and social genius of the Iroquois goes far towards justifying. Rum and the beast in the white man have done what missionary zeal and government paternalism have failed to overcome. The Iroquois of Canada, however, are the least badly off of the Indian tribes. In fact, they seem to be quite well off.

ALEX. F. CHAMBERLAIN.

Folk-Stories of the Northern Border. By Frank D. Rogers. Clayton, N.Y., 1897. Pp. 273.

Myths and Legends Beyond our Borders. By Charles M. Skinner. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1899 [1898]. Pp. 319.

Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. VI: Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia, collected by James Teit. With an Introduction by Franz Boas, and Notes. Boston and New York, 1898. Pp. x, 137.

Mr. Rogers' book is made up of anecdotes of the war of 1812 and the chief figures therein concerned, tales of the pioneers of the region about Lake Ontario in the early years of the present century, and other miscellaneous information on politics, school, smuggling, Indians, etc. Very interesting is the "Legend of Calumet Island" (pp. 42-53), in the course of which we learn that the Thousand Islands originated from the breaking into pieces of a primitive Garden of Eden, which was being carried up to heaven in a great skin blanket. It is this legend to which the Indian name of French Creek in the village of Clayton alludes—Weteringhra-Guentere, "the place where the hills fell down." We learn also that this Paradise was taken from the Mississaguas by the Great Spirit, on account of a feud to which they were a party. Mr. Rogers also reproduces (pp. 143-153) the account of the "Captivity of Mrs. Howe, 1755," among the Indians.

Of the one hundred and four tales and legends in Mr. Skinner's collection, sixty-five are from or about various portions of the Dominion of Canada, the remainder belonging to Mexico, Central and South America. Although the volume is evidently intended for popular use, an index and references to sources of information would not have been at all superfluous, considering the amount of material and its utter heterogeneity, Indian legends, French-Canadian story, English folk-lore, all intermingled. The author has sought "to assemble traditions that attach to places, rather than attempt to set forth the almost exhaustless, always verbose, and sometimes childish folk-lore of the aborigines." This somewhat unflattering sentiment Mr. Skinner offsets with the

further observation (p. 22): "In many of his traditions it will be seen that he has a moral sense as keen as any one's, and courage to live to it; that he is a man."

Among the subjects of legendary lore in Mr. Skinner's pages are: Creation, Heaven, Hell; the exploits of Glooscap, Hiawatha and Manabozho; monsters, strange animals and giants; wars and massacres; death, ghosts and spirits; miracles, etc., from the Indians; and from the European colonists and their descendants: Hidden Gold, Isle of Demons, The Flame Sloop of Caraquette, The Tolling off Gaspé, The Defence of St. John, The Golden Dog, The Grave in the Cellar, The Sin of Father Bernard, The Heart of Frontenac, The Miracles of Ste. Anne, Father Jacques' Vengeance, etc. Unfortunately there is no means of judging the mixture of truth and error in many of these stories, some of which, doubtless, are all right, others, as surely all wrong. They are all, however, written in a pleasing, if not elevated style, and read well even if they do not sound authentic. Perhaps the author gives the real reason for these peculiarities in his opening words (p. 17): "Canada, from its earliest settlement, has been to most white Americans a dark, cool land of mystery." Certainly a very great knowledge of Canadian geography and history is needed to enable one justly to appreciate the wealth of folk-lore embedded in the book, so rapid are some of the transitions, and so ubiquitous is the traveller. In his mingling of theory with legend Mr. Skinner is sometimes delightfully impartial, sometimes wonderfully naïve! Hiawatha and Manabozho are confused even more successfully than was done by Longfellow (*e. g.* p. 32). The section, "Some Names" (pp. 49-55), is very good reading, but the author has no excuse for preferring, apparently, the derivation of Quebec from *Quel bec!* The illustrations of the church at Tadoussac (p. 134), and Medicine Hat, Assiniboia (p. 176), are very good. Altogether the book is full of interesting matter, suited to the popular taste, and capable of being utilized as well by those whose standard is higher. Perhaps no other work of like sort contains so much lore relating to the various peoples of the Dominion. The extra-Canadian portion of the volume is of about the same texture and composition.

Mr. Teit's volume is of a class different to that to which the books just noticed belong. It contains thirty-five tales of the Thompson River Indians, a branch of the Salishan stock, a people of a very primitive character, chiefly hunters and fishers, with no elaborate social organization. The tales are a new and welcome addition to North American Indian mythology, and the critical introduction furnished by Dr. Franz Boas is an excellent summary of the data presented, with a discussion of the various problems involved in the origin and development of these myths.

Half the tales of the Thompson River Indians are chiefly concerned with "accounts of the deeds of transformers whose activity was necessary to prepare the earth for the abode of mankind." The transformer was monster-destroyer, teacher of arts and industries, leader in migrations, apportioner of land and habitations, etc., and usually the last transformer, through whom the good was blessed and the evil cursed, is to have a second advent when the world is to be changed again and the dead restored to the land of the living. With the Thompson River Indians there are several "transformers," the Coyote, the three brothers Qoā'qtqat, Kokwē'la, and the Old Man, of whom the first and second are the most important and influential figures, Dr. Boas tells us, in the whole mythology of the tribe, the Coyote being the most notable of all. The tales show him, however, not in the light of a benefactor moved by altruistic motives, but as accomplishing all "transformations of the world in the pursuit of his own ends. So, also, with the series of tales relating to the three brothers Qoā'qtqat, which are practically identical with the Qāls legends of the tribes on the delta of the Fraser and on the southeastern part of Vancouver Island. The Kokwē'la legend appears to be *sui generis*. The concept of the "Old Man" among the Thompson River Indians, Dr. Boas thinks, "is so much like that of the Kootenay and Blackfeet, that I am rather inclined to consider these groups of tales as having a common origin." The complex Coyote legend in particular suggests foreign influence, which is also evident in the other mythic cycles.

"It appears," says Dr. Boas, "that a considerable number of tales were borrowed bodily from the coast tribes, and were incorporated ready-made in

the tales of Thompson River tribes. It is, therefore, certain that these importations when interwoven with mythical tales never had any symbolic signification among the people whose property they are now."

Very interesting is the study of the influence of environment in the modifications of these tales, the fishers and hunters, the men of the sea-coast and of the mountains differing considerably in their treatment of borrowed material. But the social status of the tribe seems an even more powerful modifying factor than geographical environment. Both these influences, borrowing, and modification according to social status, tend to obscure the original meaning of the myth. Attempts at the explanation of nature seem to be the primary source of myths, and even among the Thompson River Indians touches of an extremely poetical character are frequently met with. The "culture-hero" concept, so well illustrated in these tales, is, according to Dr. Boas, "a most important characteristic of all primitive religion." As to the ethical problem involved, he is inclined to believe that originally these creators and transformers worked rather to their own advantage than, altruistically, for the sake of mankind. These "Traditions," with the illuminating and interpretative preface of Dr. Boas, form a volume of interest not alone to folk-lorists, but to all psychologists and students of the mental development of man.

ALEX. F. CHAMBERLAIN.

VI. LAW AND THE CONSTITUTION OF CANADA

Cases Decided on the British North America Act, 1867, in the Privy Council, the Supreme Court of Canada, and the Provincial Courts. Collected and edited by John R. Cartwright. Q.C. Vols. I-V. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1882-97.

Modern Political Institutions. By Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D., President of the American Social Science Association, formerly President of the American Bar Association and of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1898. Pp. 387.

The appearance of a fifth of the capacious volumes comprising Mr. J. R. Cartwright's valuable collection of cases on the British North America Act suggests two reflections. The first is, how useful these collections of authorities, especially in the case of Canada, are. Most of those fortunate members of the legal fraternity who as time goes on find themselves not only called but chosen, discover that their practice soon begins to follow for the most part one or two well defined channels, and that there are many kinds of cases which for one reason or another never come in their way at all. Now the myriads of tangled precedents pour out of the Press so fast in these days that to possess a complete library even of the Canadian Reports involves a very considerable expenditure of capital. Most men, then, in the legal profession would appreciate a like advantage to that which, thanks to Mr. Cartwright, and to the Dominion and Provincial Governments, the constitutional lawyer now enjoys, of being able to obtain careful collections of the authorities bearing on those departments of the law with which they may find themselves almost exclusively concerned. There is by no means a plethora at present of good Canadian legal text-books, and probably nothing would be more likely to conduce to their production than for public bodies to undertake the publication of collections, similar to that of Mr. Cartwright, of the various Canadian authorities upon company law, or banking law, or other special

departments. The other reflection is, that a very noticeable number of points have arisen for legal determination in respect to the distribution of legislative power between the Dominion parliament and the provincial legislatures. In fact, I think, there can be no question that it is very much larger in proportion than the number which have arisen as between the federal and State authorities in the United States, where the great bulk of constitutional law seems to turn upon the proper interpretation of the numerous clauses in their constitutions restrictive of legislative powers. Such restrictions are not characteristic of our system, under which, in accordance with British principle, legislative power where it exists is made plenary. The explanation of the greater number of points that arise under our system as between the federal and provincial legislatures is to be found in the double enumeration of legislative powers, whereby not only is jurisdiction over certain broad subject-matters assigned to the Dominion parliament exclusively, but a number of other broad subject-matters are specifically enumerated over which the provincial legislatures respectively are given exclusive jurisdiction. Under the United States constitution on the other hand the only legislative powers granted are granted to Congress, and subject to them the legislative powers of the several States are left unaffected, except in respect to a few restrictions imposed, such as passing no *ex post facto* law or law impairing the obligation of contracts. The difficulty of reconciling the two enumerations under our Act, and of accurately determining the Dominion and provincial areas of power respectively, explains the large number of cases which Mr. Cartwright has found. There seems some reason for thinking, however, to the satisfaction no doubt of everybody except the constitutional lawyer, that the main principles necessary to be determined in connection with the construction of the British North America Act have now been authoritatively declared, and that new questions will not in future continue to come up with the same rapidity.

Obviously nearly the whole of this litigation arises from the fact that so far as the distribution of legislative power went, we

had to submit to the somewhat doubtful blessing of a fundamental law. It is true that Sir Henry Maine in his work on "Popular Government" somewhat deplores the risk which Great Britain has to run of fundamental constitutional changes brought about under the influence of great public excitement, and rendered possible by the way in which all power is centred in the British parliament, or one might almost say in the House of Commons. And in some other quarters occasionally one has seen a certain envy expressed in England of the United States Supreme Court, and of the hold which it is enabled to keep over the action of the various depositaries of public power in the United States. But it is certainly going rather far to speak, as Mr. Baldwin does in his book on *Modern Political Institutions*, of "a written constitution as the supreme law" being not only a modern institution, but belonging, as he puts it, "to the domain of the universal in modern statecraft." And the same may also be said of his further statements regarding what he calls "the protection by law of the individual against the State." This latter involves, or proceeds from, just that distrust of those exercising public authority which characterizes American institutions in an increasing degree as time goes on. Their idea of what constitutes liberty differs from the British, and, I may say, the Canadian conception. Few of us would agree with modern statecraft which would prefer the swathes and trammels of American federal and State constitutions to the freer action, and consequently unimpeded organic development, which characterizes the British system.

This volume of Mr. Baldwin's really consists, for the most part, of a collection of papers read by him at various times before different Bar Associations and Social Science Congresses. The chapters, therefore, as might be expected, are of varying degrees of interest and importance; and there can scarcely be said to be any general plan or method in the book. The most valuable part of it is perhaps contained in chapter VI, entitled "Freedom of Incorporation," in which the whole history of incorporation by law, both of public and private bodies, from the days of the Roman Empire until the present time, is gone into with very considerable learning and at very considerable length. Throughout the

rest of the book, however, the student of the political institutions of the United States and Canada will find much to interest him. In chapter III, upon the first century's changes in the State constitutions, the author discusses that growing distrust of legislatures to which I have already alluded. But the chapter which follows under the heading "Absolute Power an American Institution" will probably excite more surprise and interest than anything else in the volume. Mr. Baldwin goes so far as to say (p. 84) that of the leading powers in the world two only in our present time represent the principle of political absolutism and enforce it by one man's hand. They are, he says, Russia and the United States. He declares that no Sultan, in the presence of his Divan, is as uncontrolled and absolute as the President of the United States at a Cabinet meeting. He even declares that the President is an absolute judge of his duty as to proceedings in execution of a statute, and can, to a large extent, virtually defy Congress by refusing to carry out the enactments of the legislature. Such one-man power already existing in the President has perhaps rather an ominous appearance in view of the growing phase of militarism and imperial expansion upon which our neighbours have now entered. But in fact one has to set off one adverse criticism by American publicists upon the state of affairs in their country against another. Mr. Woodrow Wilson, whose work on "Congressional Government" is so well known, while he complains very much of the degree in which Congress has absorbed every variety of power, by no means conveys the same idea of the President's autocratic position. His book, however, has now been published for some years, and things appear to be developing rather quickly across the line. But Miss Follett, who only last year wrote a book, which has been highly commended in every direction, upon the Speaker of the House of Representatives, seems to find in that official a despot whose usurpations are if anything more to be feared than those of the President himself.

Mr. Baldwin makes in one passage a claim which is somewhat surprising, that when the fathers of the United States constitution adopted so far as they could a system which would completely separate executive from legislative power, they did so deliberately

preferring that arrangement to the British cabinet parliamentary system. In fact, however, the best authorities seem to agree that the earliest of the modern ministries in England was Lord Rockingham's in 1782, and that the present system cannot be said to have established itself until Lord Grenville's administration of 1806. Sir William Anson indeed in his work on the "Crown" tells us that no government resigned office on account of an adverse vote in the House of Commons upon any matter of legislation or even of taxation until 1830.

Before concluding I may point out rather a curious mistake made at page 63 with reference to Canada. Mr. Baldwin there writes :

"Great Britain has found it necessary to guard against profuse expenditures and grants by her colonial legislatures by measures yet more stringent. In the Union Act creating the Dominion of Canada (1867) it is provided that 'it shall not be lawful for the House of Commons to adopt or pass any vote, resolution, address or bill for the appropriation of any part of the public revenue, or of any tax or impost, to any purpose that has not first been recommended to that House by message of the Governor-General at the same session.'"

As a matter of fact, however, this is merely an embodiment in the Act of the well-known principle of the British constitution that no private member can propose any tax or impost except by way of amendment upon a tax proposed by a Minister, but that this must always be done upon the initiative of the Crown.

A. H. F. LEFROY.

The Law of Mines in Canada, by William David McPherson and John Murray Clark. Toronto: The Carswell Co. Limited, 1898. Pp. lxii, 1294.

This work is a monument of legal learning and industry, and the authors are to be congratulated upon their thorough exposition of the statutes and judicial decisions which regulate the mining industry of Canada. But the historian as well as the lawyer will find material in it that he may consult with advantage. The first chapter contains a concise history of Canadian law from the time of the English conquest in 1763, with special reference to the Crown title to land. It is by no means a simple

matter to trace the successive stages by which the various provinces arrived at their present ownership of waste lands, nor to decide how far a private title is still affected by conditions and restraints inherited with its original patent from the Crown. The frequent constitutional changes and reconstructions of territorial government have left much ambiguity and doubt behind, as the number of judgments cited by the authors in this chapter testify. Every new Act seemed to leave unrepealed certain portions of former Acts, and the ingenuity of counsel and the acumen of judges have been much exercised in unravelling the knotty points involved. It is in Ontario and Quebec that these questions have chiefly arisen, for the constitutional changes above alluded to took place mainly in the government of the old Province of Canada, out of which Ontario and Quebec were formed at Confederation. But even in the Maritime provinces the question has arisen to what extent the principles of the old French law are still applicable in cases not directly covered by English enactments. In Manitoba also a difficulty, not alluded to in the present work, comes up occasionally, on account of the assumed devolution of estates under the Hudson's Bay Company's *régime* as leasehold instead of freehold. Mr. Martin's recent work, "The Hudson's Bay Company's Land Tenures," reviewed elsewhere, includes a full discussion of the question.

A fruitful source of confusion in the matter of titles has been the exact nature of the ownership by the original Indian inhabitants. It was long ago decided, no doubt wisely, that the Indians had no power to confer any ownership upon white settlers, but that the latter must take their title from the Crown. The Crown, it was held, really owned the land upon which it suffered the Indians to dwell. In technical language, not complimentary to the aborigines, the title of the Indians was a mere "burden" upon the land. But although this seems reasonable enough when expounded in a court of law, it has not been so evident to the Indians themselves or to the white settlers who imagined themselves to be purchasing from the lawful owners when they made their bargains with the Indians. Another cause of legal strife has been the right of the Dominion Government to

make provision for Indian reserves upon lands whose title is vested in one or other of the various provincial Governments. In addition to all constitutional causes of obscurity in these matters a title to land given by the Crown does not convey a title to the precious metals contained in the land. This, however, is a distinction now pretty well understood, and indeed most of the difficulties connected with an earlier condition of the law have been removed by special statutes in the various provinces of Canada dealing with the title to mineral lands and their contents. A considerable portion of Messrs. McPherson and Clark's book is taken up with these Acts and their interpretation. There is also a series of chapters on the principal topics at common law relating to the acquisition and working of mines, such as contracts, partnership and trust, leases, covenants, rights of the surface-owner, where they conflict with the interests of the mine-owners, riparian rights and other matters connected with the enjoyment of running water, rights of aliens, etc.

An interesting appendix, interesting to non-professional readers, even to the philologist, furnishes a glossary of mining terms. We find in it the expressive verb "grub-stake," defined as "provisioning a prospector on a bargain to share his discoveries"; also the term "bonanza," which originally meant "fair weather at sea"; the present usage in English needs no explanation. "Counter lode" is a curious corruption of *contra lode*, an intersecting vein. Cornishmen have introduced many of their own peculiar words and expressions, such as "costeaning" and "gossan." The humour of the mining fraternity appears in such words as "coffin," an old open excavation, and we may add, though not included in the author's glossary, "haymakers," aptly applied to the placer-miners, who skim the surface of the gold-crop and quickly move on to fresh fields. The word "proposition," too, in its new sense of mining property, ought not to have been omitted.

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